THE BLACK PANTHER

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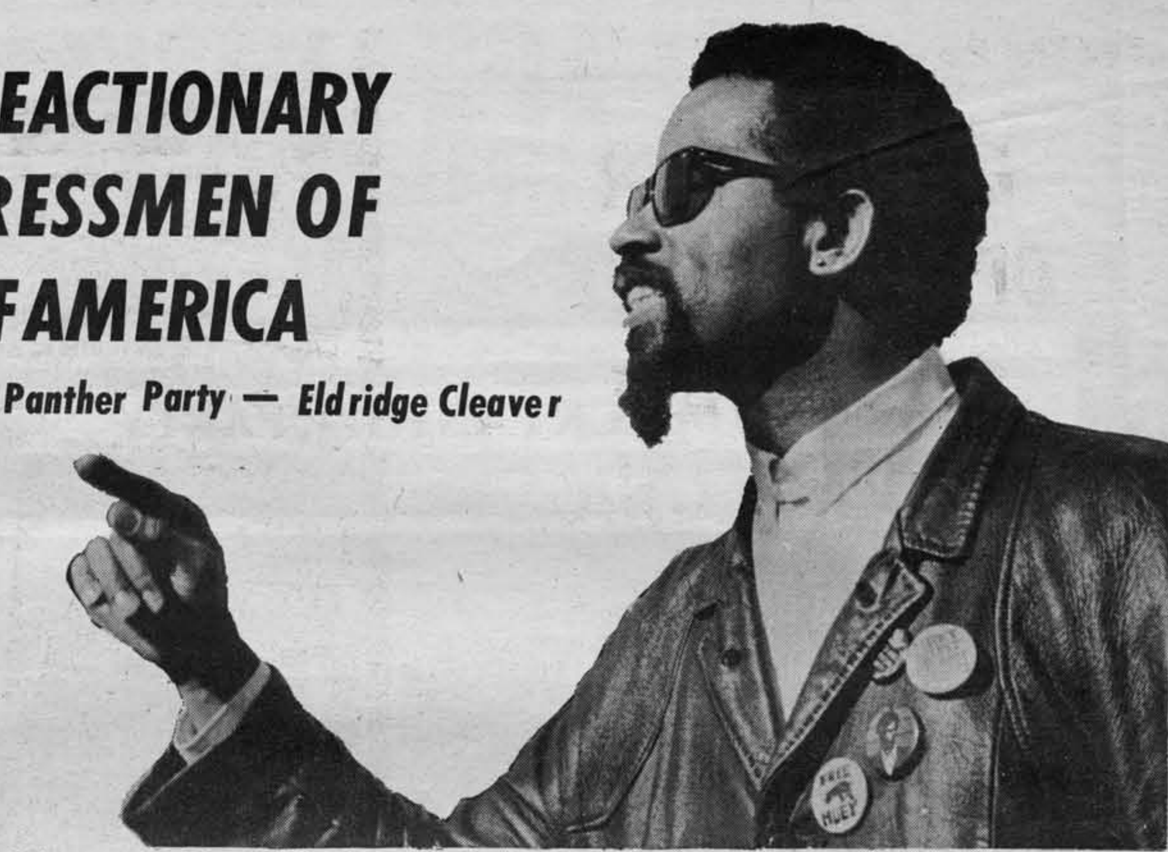
"I don't think that we can say the organized attempt to destroy the B.P.P. was successful. What it has done, is that it brought to the attention of the American people the atrociousness of the American Government, in terms of its subjects. People moving for their freedom. The very fact that they attacked us so openly shows that they're a very brutal people. That they are barbarous, criminal elements against society. But as far as their successfulness is concerned, they're not successful. They can never exterminate the Black Panther Party because the Black Panther Party is not just a party for itself but rather it's a party for the people."

David Hilliard, Chief of Staff, Black Panther Party



INSIDE: Selected Works Of The Black Panther Party, 1969

STATEMENT TO ALL REACTIONARY JOURNALISTS AND PRESSMEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



From The Minister of Information of The Black Panther Party — Eldridge Cleaver

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY NOVEMBER 8, 1969

I have been informed by responsible leaders of the Black Panther Party that our Chairman Bobby Seale has been bound and gagged, in Judge Hoffman's court in Chicago where he's now on trial. I've been told that they have been trying all kinds of gags out on Bobby to keep him silent, but somehow he continues to talk. I've been told that members of the jury are actually crying out of some terror, some fear, some guilt, when they see Bobby in the position that he's in and continuing to defend himself and to speak up for justice even through a gag. This doesn't surprise me at all to hear that the Chairman of the Black Panther Party has been bound and gagged in a courtroom in Chicago. It doesn't really surprise me because I'm fully aware that the court system in the United States is part and parcel of the apparatus for oppression under which Black people have lived ever since they were brought to the United States as slaves. I'm fully aware of what the institutions of American society can do to the oppressed people. But one thing that sometimes is a little hard to understand, is the role that is played in making excuses and justifying the actions of the ruling class of the oppressors. I'm speaking specifically about the members of the mass media, the press, radio, and television. And I want it to be clear that I'm speaking to them as a colleague of theirs, because I'm a journalist myself. I pay very close attention to the way that information is disseminated from the mass media, and I've become aware, as many people are aware that one of the key instruments of oppression, of controlling the oppressed people, is the mass media.

The mass media is manipulated and controlled by intelligent people who know how to formulate ideas and who know how to invent stories and fairy tales that explain away the fiendish and evil activities of the oppressor and confuse the oppressed by taking them on a trip. These are criminal activities, these are counter-revolutionary activities, these are activities that perpetuate oppression. These are activities that justify the murderous operations of the United States government, for instance in Vietnam, or in Korea, or in Palestine, or in Africa, Asia, Latin America, anywhere you go. Where you find an oppressive regime in power, you find violence, hidden, conniving in the form of the imperialist United States government. Domestically we find that the fascist government has taken off its mask under Richard Nixon. Richard Nixon, the man who was a member of the H.U.A.C, special advisor to the H.U.A.C. when Martin Dies was the chairman of that body. A man who has built his entire career on political prosecution, political chicanery, and deception, and demagogy. The United States of America is in the hands of this man who unleashed Bulldog Hoover upon the people, upon militant spokesman of the people, released him upon the Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale.

In this situation speaking specifically for myself I can not relate to the judicial system of the United States of America, I cannot relate to what Judge Hoffman is doing to the Chairman of the Black Panther Party. And I cannot relate to anyone who does anything to justify that. So that, up against the wall for the men of words, who create phoney television presentations, who broadcast bullshit to children or who write lies in newspapers. I don't care what newspaper it is, or which television it is. In order for the people to be able to deal with the crisis that they face, they have to have the truth, and they have to have implacable justice for those who conceal the truth and for those who confuse the people by disseminating false information.

So it's very difficult for me to focus specific hostilities at any one particular instrument or a section of the American ruling class. Because I feel the same about everyone of them, every member of that ruling class. And every profession, every section of the economy, every category that you might be able to put into the American ruling class; I feel exactly the same way. That is it's a negative, diseased and totally undesirable element, and that it must be eliminated. So we know what we must do for the oppressor who move actively against the people in defending this system. And we must also know what we must do to those who lie in the mass media, in order to confuse, or to deceive the people. And I don't think that criticism, or talking about them, or talking to them, or trying to correct them is the solution. I think that the solution to their problem is to take their heads, I could say something different, I could say something like a teacher would say, to try to show them the errors of their ways. To try to convince them that they should change, that they should start telling the truth. I could try to appeal to their intelligence or to their conscience, or to their self-interests, or to some other quality that might motivate them. But I don't have any hope that they would listen to what I would say about that, or listen to anyone else who says anything about that in the same way that I'm saying it. I believe that the people are evil, that they know what they're doing, and that they will continue to do that no matter what you say. If I would make a statement that would try to appeal to them, or to try to communicate with them; they would write a lie about that. So that I say that we must communicate with them in a manner that they cannot fail to understand. And I'd also like to quote Stalin. Stalin said that "The weapons of criticism will never equal the criticism of weapons." So I say that we must elevate our level of criticism of these pigs to another level. And that when they have not listened to the criticism of the people; then the people should began to criticise them with guns. Then they will begin to listen, or it will not matter whether they listen or not. So I think that for all the pigs, for the dumb racist pig cop on the beat, to the avaricious businessmen, to the demagogic politicians, and to the men of words, and to all their flunkies. But particularly to all those who carry weapons, who use weapons, or cause others to use weapons in defense of the United States capitalist government, they are fair targets for the wrath of the people.

Later for the mass media, later for all these special categories. When the enemy is identified, ain't nothing to do but move against him. They'll change their attitudes.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

ATTENTION: TO THE PEOPLE

Due to the savage, fascist repression that is being waged against our Party, we have had to train a new Information Cadre.

The new staff of THE BLACK PANTHER, BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE is apologizing to the people for the numerous mistakes that appeared in last week's (Satruday, December 27, 1969) issue.

Lack of space and the necessity to stay a step ahead of the avaricious, demagogic, fascist pigs, does not permit us to rerun all of the incorrect articles ("What Is There To Investigate?" "West Germany Refuses Entry To Delegates Of The Black Panther Party"). However, "Robert Williams Speaks at NCCF Panther Benefit," is re-run in this issue on page 20.

All Power To The People
THE BLACK PANTHER COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE, Staff

SPECIAL REPORT ON SHARON WILLIAMS, OF THE L.A. 18

Sharon said that on Monday December 22nd, seven L.A.P.D. (Los Angeles pigs) forcefully took 10 photos of her in the attorney's room. She was told if she did not comply with the pigs' request that they would beat her and put her back in lock-up. Sharon is now in the infirmary (where she has been since last night, December 26) for 15 or 16 tests to determine the reason why her legs are swollen. She will be in the infirmary until next Friday, January 2nd. She was in lock-up for five days, and she was also off her medication. We were able to get her glasses in to her through the attorney. She will probable get them late today or tomorrow because they have to be medically tested. Sharon said, "Tell Bobby we love him."



SHARON

Sharon asked that we print in our paper and some establishment newspaper the following petition from the inmates, which was supposed to be submitted to Capt. Carpenter:

"Special request to Capt. Carpenter,

We want to speak to you on the treatment and continuous harassment of inmates by the nursing staff, especially Miss Keeler, that she is arbitrarily taking people off their medication, ignoring sick calls by the officers, and refuses to give required medication, because the inmates life depends on their medication."

One of these petitions was submitted from 12 dorms (with 60 persons per dorm) out of 18.

FREE THE L.A. 18

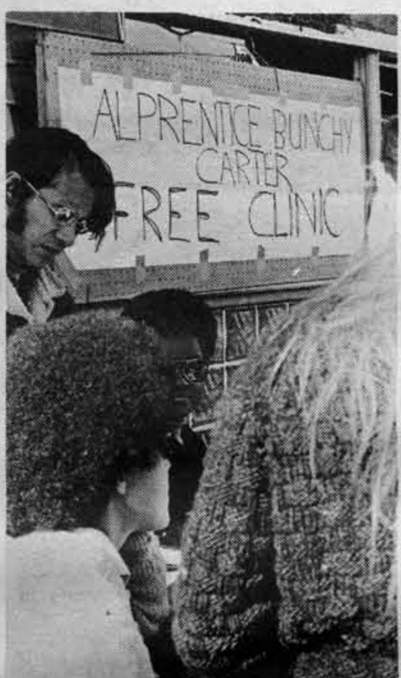
AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
MASS RALLY - JAN 6, 1970
9:00 AM-HALL OF JUSTICE
BROADWAY & TEMPLE
To Support The Panthers Busted in The Dec. 8th attack on the Black Panther Party (Preliminary Hearing)

For The People

L.A. CHAPTER OPENS BUNCHY CARTER FREE HEALTH CLINIC

The Alprentice Bunchy Carter Free Clinic opened Saturday, December 27th, at 9:00 a.m., despite the measures various categories of pigs had attempted to use to see that this clinic for the People never opened. The clinic was originally sheduled to open in another part of the Southern California Chapter's Central Headquarters (4111 S. Central Ave.) on that day: floors had been sanded, walls had been scraped, plumbing installed and tile was about to be laid - that is, before December 8th - the day of the Vietnam-like, search and destroy attack on the Central Headquarters.

After that, lingering tear gas slowed down our work. Nevertheless, the people, everyone, worked hard to re-build and repair the building for the opening day. The two people helping us to coordinate things, Marie Branch, R.N., and Terry Kupers, M.D., worked especially hard, getting a building permit, organizing other nurses and doctors to give their services, seeing to it that leaflets were made to tell the people of the opening of the clinic. Despite the holocaust the pigs had brought down on the building, we still continued to work.



COMMUNITY WORKERS TALK ABOUT CLINIC

About three or four days before the 27th, the pigs' slumlords, Maurice Rosen and his brother-in-law, Nathan Golden, told us to "quit the premises", and had the marshalls serve the notice (tacked on the door). We saw that there was no point in fixing up a place that would no longer be ours and the people's; we therefore looked for other locations. But there was no time. So two vans were brought down to sit out in front of the building at 4111 S. Central and we put up a sign.

About fifteen medical professionals came to offer their services. Although the weather was cold and the wind was blowing, and there was no real indoor facility in which to begin offering the people a much-needed free health facility, and tear gas lingered (after 3 weeks) in the area, the Alprentice Bunchy Carter Free Clinic opened. And the people came. One man had hemorrhoids, one stitches to be removed, a woman came with a bad cold, another woman came to have someone look at her baby.



REVOLUTIONARY M.D. SERVES COMMUNITY

The pigs had seen to it that our clinic looked like a medic's clearing in a war-zone, but they had not seen to it-as they never will-that the people begin getting basic and other medical care. We did.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Bunchy Carter Free Health Clinic will be serving the people every Saturday at 4111 Central Ave. from 9AM



ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AND BUNCHY CARTER

Message from Eldridge to The Victors

I'd just like to say that those brothers and sisters who are prisoners in L.A. will survive to fight in the final phase of the struggle.

Those brothers and sisters in L.A. who are facing those pigs, I say that they saved the Party; and they shot the whole liberation struggle to a new level and people are relating to it all over the planet. And I know I'm very happy that they did that cause they set a beautiful example to start the New Year.

N.A.A.C.P. AGAINST PIG REPRESSION OF BLACK PANTHERS

Date: December 11, 1969

Northern Area Conference NAACP
Press Release
From Carter Gilmore:

The northern area conference of the NAACP representing 24 branches is shocked and saddened at the violence that is being perpetrated against the Black Panther Party.

This we believed could never happen in 'law and order America', yet in the last two weeks we have seen incidents of grave injustice. The indiscriminate ambush of Black Panther headquarters in Chicago, which concluded with the killing of leaders of the Party.

The recent tragedy in Los Angeles where 300 policemen attacked 3 Black Panther headquarters in heavily populated Black communities. We detest these actions and demand that this wholesale killing of Black peple immediately END.

Although we may differ with the Black Panthers in political philosophies; but WE ARE ALL BLACK PEOPLE and when these kinds of actions are held by our police departments, we feel that all Black people are being threatened with the loss of their very lives. The northern area NAACP is sending a letter to President Richard M. Nixon demanding a full investigation by the Attorney General into the persecution, harassment, and killings of persons in the Black Panther Party. The Black people of America thinks of the killing of the Jews in Hitler years and wonders if this is the final goal of our oppression. This is America's chance and the Black man's challenge, and we will meet it.

Carter Gilmore
Area President

SOCIAL SERVICES WORKERS CONDEMN PIGS

This week, an army of policemen invaded the Black Community of Los Angeles, and with bombs, gas, and automatic weapons, attempted to kill and imprison all the members of a small group of Black militants. Last week, in Chicago, police succeeded in murdering two leaders of the Black Panther Party, - one while he was sleeping in his bed. In every major city across the nation, members of the Black Panther Party, who have been leaders in the fight against racism and poverty in this country, have been killed, - or imprisoned on trumped up charges.

When the government uses military force to suppress dissent, every member of a political party, a labor union, a religious or racial minority, is threatened. Therefore, we, the members of Local 535, must join with the communities we represent, to protest these political murders, and to demand the release of all political prisoners.

Resolution passed by Executive Council of Social Services Workers Union, Local 535, on Wed., Dec. 10, 1969.

"IF YOU WANT PEACE, YOU'VE GOT TO FIGHT FOR IT"

DAVID HILLIARD, CHIEF OF STAFF, B.P.P.

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1969

There's too many American flags out here, and our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, says that the American flag and the American eagle are the true symbols of fascism. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE. Black power to Black people, Brown power to Brown people, Red power to Red people, and Yellow power to Ho Chi Minh, and Comrade Kim Il Sung, the courageous leader of the 40,000,000 Korean people.

The Black Panther Party takes the position that we want all Black men exempt from military service and that we believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in a military to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world, who like Black people are victims of US imperialism on an international level, and fascism domestically. So recognizing that, recognizing fascism, recognizing the occupation of all the pigs in the Black community, then it becomes evident that there's a war at home, there's a war of genocide being waged against Black people right here in America.

So then, we would like to ask the American people do they want peace in Vietnam. Well, do you? (audience) "Yes." Do you want peace in the Black communities? (audience) "Yes." Well you goddamned sure can't get it with no guitars, you can't get it demonstrating. The only way that you're going to get peace in Vietnam is to withdraw the oppressive forces from the Black communities right here in Babylon. So that we have a suggestion for that, we have a purposal, we have a message for that. We have a petition that we're circulating on a national level to control the pigs in the Black community; and we know that those pigs are not going to move of their own volition. We know that those pigs are not going to stop murdering Black people in the Black community. We also recognize that White people are oppressed in the White community; so that our petition is applicable in their community.

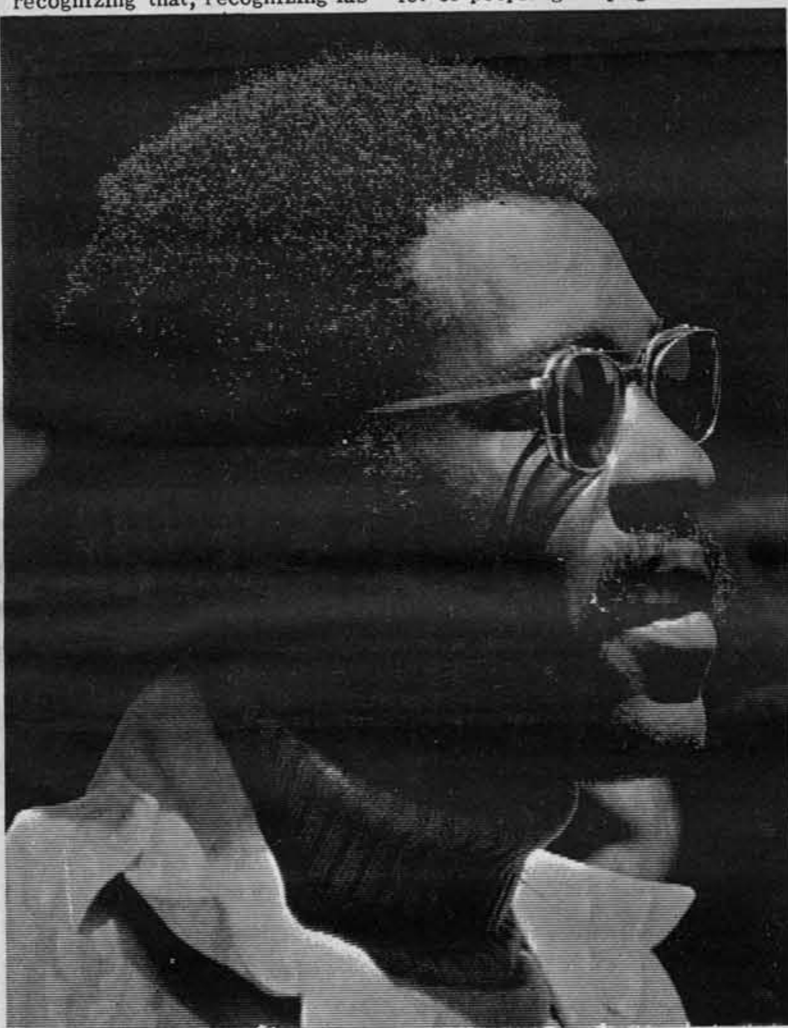
But we have to make some very clear distinctions in terms of minor and major danger. We say that the major danger is right here in America because the Black community is occupied territory and the pigs of the power structure are killing Black people with the same compunction, with the same outrage and hatred that they killed the courageous people of Vietnam. So that we're not going to let you get around that. We're not going to let you talk about waging a struggle in support of people 10,000 miles from here, when you have problems right here in fascist America. We recognize that a whole lot of people get uptight and they think that the Black Panther Party is just making up shit, that they're distorting history when we say that this country is fascist. But I think just a little reexamination of your history will show to you, the American people, that the history of this country promulgates and it sets a precedence for any fascism that has ever taken place on the stage of world history.

Adolph Hitler was a fascist. The man was an animal. The man was a monster. He was a jingoist, a warmongerer. But Adolph Hitler did not create fascism. Adolph Hitler did not create the Black Legion. Black people were enslaved and killed in the millions before Hitler even came on the scene. The Red man was exterminated in this country, and Hitler don't take responsibility for that. So that this country has a blood stained history. This country is a country that was built on war, it was built on the ruins, it was built on the sweat and blood of its Black people. So that the history of the Black Panther Party, the ideology of the Black Panther Party is nothing more than the historical experiences of Black people in this country translated by way of Marxism-Leninism. Because we recognize that Marxism-Leninism is not a philosophy for Russians, it is not a philosophy for Chinese, but it's a philosophy for any people that's moving against an oppressive power structure such as the capitalistic fascist system of the American society. And we have adopted that. And that we're putting it into practice because it has proven beyond a doubt that it's truly in the service of the proletariat.

We would just like to ask the American people, we would like to ask all the mothers in the audience, all the wives who have husbands that are prisoners of war, that have been lost in action, do you want your sons home? Do you want your sons home? (audience) "Yes." Well we have a purposal for that. Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, is in Algeria. He spent two months in Korea, at the Pyongyang Journalist Conference, and there he spoke with members of the National liberation Front of Vietnam. So that we purpose to the mothers whose sons are political prisoners of war or wives whose husbands are lost in action, that they submit to the Black Panther Party their name, rank and serial number, and we will turn this over to the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, and we will begin to negotiate for freedom for Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, because they're political prisoners of U.S. fascism. That's the way that we want to help people. If you can't relate to freedom for our Chairman Bobby Seale and our Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton, then we say that we can't relate to the American people.

We say down with the American fascist society. Later for Richard Milhouse Nixon, the motherfucker. Later for all the pigs of the power structure. Later for all the people out here that don't want to hear me curse, because that's all that I know how to do. That's all that I'm going to do. I'm not going to ever stop cursing; not only are we going to curse, we're going to put into practice some of the shit that we talk about. Because Richard Nixon is an evil man. This is the motherfucker that unleashed the counter-insurgent teams upon the Black Panther Party. This is the man that's responsible for all the attacks on the Black Panther Party nationally. This is the man that sends his vicious murderous dogs out into the Black community and invade upon our Black Panther Party Breakfast Program, destroy food that we have for hungry kids and expect us to accept shit like that idly. Fuck that motherfucking man. We will kill Richard Nixon, we will kill any motherfucker that stands in the way of our freedom. We ain't here for no goddamned peace, because we know that we can't have no peace because this country was built on war. And if you want peace you got to fight for it.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



DAVID HILLIARD, CHIEF OF STAFF, B.P.P.

WHAT YOU ARE SPEAK SO LOUD I HARDLY HEAR WHAT YOU SAY

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1969

The ideology of the Black Panther Party is the historical experiences of Black people in America translated through Marxism-Leninism. When we review the past history of Black people in this country, we realize that after 400 years we are victims of the oppressive machinery that gags, binds and chains Black men who speak out in defense of their alleged constitutional rights.

Many people act as if they were surprised at what's happening to the Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale, but I think a careful examination of who our persecutors are will clear the minds of the masses of people that could not see through the so-called judical smokescreen of justice. These people that tortured and gagged and chained Bobby are the descendants of pirates; genocidal murderers of the Red Man, users of the atomic bomb upon the Japanese people; the enslavers and exploiters of Blacks in this country right up until this very day.

The Black Panther Party since its inception has always used the weapon of example to educate the masses. When the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, sent a delegation of armed Panthers to the California state Capitol this was a process of educating the people by example that Blacks did not have their rights guaranteed by the constitution to bear arms in defense of their lives against racist mobs of fascists in or out of uniform. So that Huey P. Newton made the statement "an unarmed people are either enslaved or subjected to slavery at any given time." So given Bobby's situation it is crystal clear what he meant.

I think we should get back to the legality of the U.S. constitution in respect to Black people. The rhetoric of the first paragraph of the constitution was never meant for people of African descent. After violating Bobby's 1st amendment rights, his 8th amendment rights on through the 6-13-14 amendments it seems to me the whole damn thing is invalid in regards to Blacks in particular.

As long as we are hung up in theory alone, without ever testing for ourselves, the reality of the laws of the courts of this system, we must expect more Bobby Seales, more cruel and inhumane treatment. We must remember this country is run by a slave oligarchy and brigandish criminals who have no respect for its people, be they Black or White; its primary interest is capitalism. So when we talk about the ideology of the Black Panther Party we are talking about the experiences of Blacks in racist, fascist America.

Its sometimes hard to understand how people react to the term fascist. They think the fascists left when the Hitlerites were defeated. I relate to what Eldridge says, "that the American flag and the American eagle are the true symbols of fascism." The American historian has a way of justifying this system by using Germany as the most vicious enemy against mankind, this is perhaps true for the people of Jewish descent. But when we really check this shit out, starting with the genocide of the Indians, the 50,000,000 Black people slaughtered by the oppressors when taken against their will at the point of guns, over 400 years ago, right here in America. Then reminding ourselves of the genocidal and imperialist war against the Vietnamese people is the burning of Blacks on the sacred cross of Christianity. Then it becomes easier to relate to the chieftains of fascism, imperialism, racism; and Bobby Seale's demand for his right to self defense.

How criminal and guilty these people must be to go to the last rung on the ladder of injustice, in the gross violation of the Chairman of the Black Panther Party's human rights; at a time when the entire oppressed peoples of the world are raising up in arms against them. So for the American people we outline your first political education class. The criminal hall of pig justice, the courts where Black men are railroaded from California to Chicago, because these pigs that judge other men and women, particularly Black men and women, are the guilty ones.

The laws that they try to make us respect are oppressive laws, slave laws, laws that protect them and persecute us. I think that above and beyond the old evil, crooked judge and gag, Bobby left a scar on the minds of all those who relate to words without asking questions.

So we say Right On Chairman Bobby, for you have without making a sound exposed the ugly, fascist racist, farce of American Patriotism starring Judge J.J. Hoffman, the peoples enemy number ?

Remind that old racist motherfucker Hoffman, to tell the pigs at Chicago O'hare airport to put back up the sign that says, "what you are, speak so loud I hardly hear anything you are saying."

Chief of Staff,
David Hilliard

Racists Stir Jackson, Mich. Tensions

Jackson, Mich., Dec. 15- Murder and rape by racists were the climax last week of campaigns by right-wingers in the community of 50,000.

Charles Cade, publisher of this city's Negro weekly, was murdered 10 days ago, with the words, "Black nigger," scrawled in blood on his apartment wall. An editorial in his weekly had called for state intervention against the racist campaign in this city.

Following the murder came the rape of the wife of Don DeMarco, who had been dismissed as director of the Human Relations Commission for being too active against the racists and who had been receiving death threats. Don DeMarco is White. His wife was told by her assailant, "Your husband will never make me hire niggers."

The rising racial tension brought James Watts, president of the Michigan NAACP, and Tom Turner, president of the Detroit NAACP, to this city.

There are four to six chapters of the John Birch Society in this community.

Watts and Turner brought Mrs. DeMarco to a press conference. She had been badly beaten, a huge lump was on her forehead, one eye was completely closed and the rapist had tried to clip all the hair off her head.

DeMarco, a White liberal came to Jackson about 14 months ago. He received a death threat the same night Cade was murdered.

Jackson police have been trying to sell newsmen the theory that Cade was killed by the underworld, because he had spent some 14 years in prison.

Residents of the segregated Black community believe the slaying of Cade, who ran a militant Black newspaper here and in Kalamazoo, was perpetrated by White vigilantes who are seeking to provoke a massive attack on the Black ghetto here. They cite a wave of terror against Blacks that began last September, when a series of sniping incidents took place. Gunshot attacks were made on police headquarters and the fire station, with Black and Whites being killed.

Blacks in Jackson told reporters that the group of Whites inciting gunshot attacks have been circulating hate leaflets urging Whites to arm themselves. The leaflets were signed, "an Irish-Polak father."

Cops here are making much of a small quantity of marijuana found in the murdered Cade's apartment. Don Philips, editor of one of Cade's newspapers, the Kalamazoo Ledger, said, "It must have been planted there."

Phillips added, "I believe that Cade was killed because he learned the identity of the group of Whites who had passed out the hate leaflets."

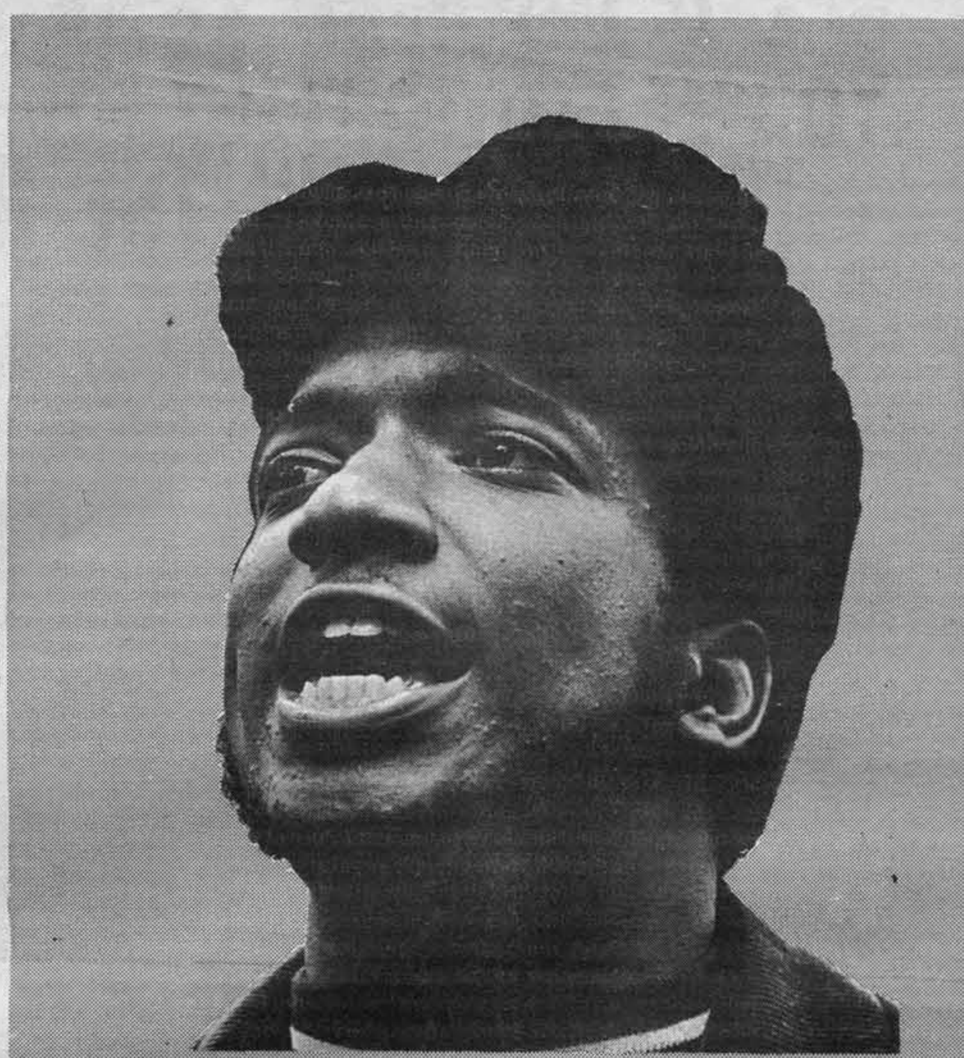
Jackson's police force, all White, have attempted to pin the death of a White man here on the Black Berets. The Berets are a local militant Black group whose program is similar to that of the Black Panther Party. Black Beret headquarters have been shot up several times, and recently they were broken into by cops who smashed down the doors, despite the offer of a key from one of the Black Berets. Outside on the street a dozen Jackson cops stood with loaded shotguns.

The Black Berets tried to get their story into the Jackson Patriot, local White newspaper, but were told, "We have the police story." The Black Berets declared, "The only thing we are involved in is programs to help the poor. We distributed 15 baskets of food to the needy in Jackson for Thanksgiving. We are planning a Christmas party for the children of the poor, and we are trying to give needy children a hot breakfast, as well as trying to get started a free medical clinic for poor kids."

Said NAACP leaders Watts and Turner, "If there is not a radical change in the situation in Jackson soon, we are going to organize a mass demonstration of protest in that town."

Jackson has long been noted for being a nest of Ku Klux Klanners, at one time the Black Legion and more recently the John Birch Society. Every time organized labor here is forced to strike, strikebreakers appear and bitter battles ensue, with Jackson's all-White police force acting as protectors of scabs.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, FRED HAMPTON MURDERED -- DECEMBER '69

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1969

We got to talk first of all about the main man. The main man in the Black Panther Party, the main man in the struggle today--in the United States, in Chicago, in Cuba and anywhere else--the main man in the liberation struggle is our Minister of Defense, and yours too, Huey P. Newton. He's the main man because the head of the imperialsit octopus lies right in this country and whoever is dealing with the head of the octopus in this country is the main man. He's in jail now. We must tell the world that Huey P. Newton was tried by the pigs and they found him guilty. He was tried by the people, who found him not guilty, and we say let him go, let him free, because we find him not guilty. This is our relentless demand. We will not let up one day, we will not give up the struggle to liberate our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton and we will continue to exert pressure on the power structure and constantly bombard them with the people's demand that Huey P. Newton be set free.

It was Huey P. Newton who taught us how the people learn. You learn by participation. When Huey P. Newton started out what did he do? He got a gun and he got Bobby and Bobby got a gun. They had problems in the community because people was being run over--kids were being run over--at a certain intersection. What did the people do? The people went down to the government to redress their grievances and the government told them to go to hell: "We are not going to put no stoplights down there UNTIL WE SEE FIT." What did Huey P. Newton do? Did he go out and tell the people about the laws and write letters and try to propagandize em all the time? NO! Some of that's good, but the masses of the people don't read--that's what I heard Huey say--they learn through observation and participation. Did he just say this? NO! So what did he do? He got him a shotgun, he got Bobby and he got him a hammer and went down to the corner. He gave Bobby the shotgun and told him if any pig motherfuckers come by blow his mother fuckin brains out. What did he do? He went to the corner and nailed up a stop sign, No more accidents, no more trouble. And then he went back--another situation like that. What'd the people do? They looked at it, they observed; they didn't get a chance to participate in it. Next time what'd they do? Same kind of problem came up. The PEOPLE got THEIR shotguns, got THEIR nine millimeters, got THEIR hammers. How'd they learn? They learned by observation and participation. They learned one thing. When there is a fire you gather round the fire. Huey got a shotgun and everybody gathered round him and Bobby. They saw what was going on and they had a chance to participate in it. As the vanguard leader he taught the people about the power structure; he led the people down the correct road of revolution. What are we doing?

BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN

Our Breakfast for Children program is feeding a lot of children and the people understand our Breakfast for Children program. We sayin' something like this--we saying that theory's cool, but theory with no practice ain't shit. You got to have both of them--the two go together. We have a theory about feeding kids free. What'd we do? We put it into practice. That's how people learn. A lot of people don't know how serious the thing is. They think the children we feed ain't really hungry. I don't know five year old kids that can act well, but I know that if they not hungry we sure got some actors. We got five year old actors that could take the academy award. Last week they had a whole week dedicated to the hungry in Chicago. Talking 'bout the starvation rate here that went up 15%. Over here where everybody should be eating. Why? Because of capitalism.

What are we doing? The Breakfast for Children program. We are running it in a socialistic manner. People came and took our program, saw it in a socialistic fashion not even knowing it was socialism. People are gonna take our program and tell us to go on to a higher level. They gonna take that program and work it in a socialistic manner. What'd the pig say? He say, "nigger--you like communism?" "no sir, I'm scared of it." "You like socialism?" "No Sir, I'm scared of it." "You like the breakfast for children program?" "Yes sir, I'd die for it". Pig said, "Nigger, that program is a socialistic program." "I don't give a fuck if it's Communism, you put your hands on that program motherfucker and I'll blow your motherfucking brains out." And he knew it. We been educating him, not by reading matter, but through observation and participation. By letting him come in and work our program. Not theory and theory alone, but theory and practice. The two go together. We not only thought about the Marxist Leninist theory--we put it into practice. This is what the Black Panther Party is about.

SUBVERSIVES

Some people talk a lot about communism, but the people can't understand and progress to the stage of communists right away because of abstract arguments. They say you got to crawl before you can walk. And the Black Panther Party as the vanguard party thought that the Breakfast for Children Program was the best technique of crawling that any vanguard party could follow. And we got a whole lot of folks that's going to be walking. And then a whole lot of folks that's gonna be running. And when you got that, what you got? You got a whole lot of PIGS that's gonna be running. That's what our program's about.

The Black Panther Party is about the complete revolution. We not gonna go out there and half do a thing. And you can let the pigs know it. They come here and hide--they so uncomfortable they sitting on a taperecorder, they got their gun in their hair--they got to hide all this shit and they come here and do all this wierd action. All they got to do is come up to 2350 West Madison any day of the week and anybody up there'll let them know, let the motherfucker know: Yes, we subversive. Yes, we subversive with the bullshit we are confronted with today. Just as subversive as anybody can be subversive. And we think them motherfuckers is the criminals. They the ones always hiding. We the ones up in front. We're out in the open, these motherfuckers should stop wearing uniforms. They want to know if the Panthers are goin' underground--these motherfuckers IS underground. You can't find em. People calls the pigs but nobody knows where they at. They're out chasing us. They hiding--can't nobody even see em.

When people got a problem they come to the Black Panther Party for help and that's good. Because, like Mao says we are supposed to be ridden by the people and Huey says we're going to be ridden down the path of social revolution and that's for the people. The people ought to know that the Black Panther Party is one thousand percent for the People. They write a lot of articles, you know, niggers'll run up to you in a minute--when I say niggers I mean white niggers and black niggers alike--niggers'll run up to you and talk that shit about , Man, I read in the Tribune today. Well you say , Man, fuck it right there. If you din't read it in the BLACK PANTHER paper, if you didn't read it in the MOVEMENT --then you ain't read s_t.

MICKEY WHITE

We in the Black Panther Party have another brother I want to take some time to rap about. This brother is constantly on our mind. This brother's name is Michael White--Mickey White. This brother is beautiful. He's being held now in jail for one hundred thousand dollars bail. Some of you who listen to the radio might have heard about brothers in the state chapter, our field Secretary of Defense Captain brother Nathaniel Junior and brother Merril Harvery being laid up on some phony gun charge. We don't say the Panthers don't want guns, but we already got guns and we don't have to go and try and steal or connive to buy any guns from anybody. What they are trying to do is to squash out the Black Panther Party--they're trying to squash out the leadership. Trying to squash out Bobby Rush. Deputy Minister of Defense. Trying to squash out Chaka and Shey, Deputy Minister of Education.

Mickey White was in that bullshit with Nathaniel Junior and Merrill Harvey. Last week when they went to court even the judge in court said, you all gonna get a fair trial whether you deserve it or not. These are the types of actions we are confronted with. Mickey White is in solitary confinement and doesn't get to come out of his cell for anything at any time. And he might be in that cell for the rest of his life. His bond is $100,000. That's $10,000 cash.

Mickey White is a proven revolutionary. He's not nobody we THINK is going to be a revolutionary. He's not nobody we trying to make a revolutionary. He's a proven revolutionary. All of you have to understand that Micky White is a Panther in ideology, he's a Panther in word and he's a Panther in deed. He's a Panther that understands its a class struggle--not a race question. You have to understand the pressures the Black Panther Party goes through saying this. You can see the pressures the Black Panther Party goes through by making a coalition with whites.

You can see that we had a group in California who committed their first acts of violence on the Black Panther Party. Ron Karenga and US never shot nothing but dope until they shot them brothers. They been an organization longer than the Black Panther Party. When the Black Panther Party stood up and said we not going to fight racism with racism US said "NO, we can't do that because it's a race question and if you make it a class question then the revolution might come sooner. We in US ain't prepared for no revolution because we think that "power grows from the sleeve of a Dashiki." They are armed with rhetoric and rhetoric alone. And we found that when you're armed with rhetoric and rhetoric alone a lot of times you get yourself hurt. Eldridge Cleaver told them even though you say you fight fire with fire best, we think you fight fire with water. You can do either one, but we choose to fight with water. He said, we're not going to fight racism with racism, we're going to fight racism with solidarity. Even though you think you ought to fight capitalism with black capitalism, we're going to fight capitalism with socialism.

We got a whole lot of people being busted and you don't even know about all these people. There's one here you definitely have to know about and thats our Minister of Defense--Bobby Rush. Our Minister Bobby Rush was busted on some bullshit with a gun thing. He's got three gun charges. He's been convicted of one with a six month lead. He's out on appeal now. I know a lot of you people say, well goddam, you got a Mickey White defense fund, an Eldridge Cleaver defense fund, a Merill Harvey defense fund, a Nathaniel Junior defense fund, a Hey Newton defense fund, a Fred Hampton, Jule, Shay and Chaka defense fund--and I just can't keep up with all these defense funds. But since we're the vanguard party we try to do things right, so we got one defense fund so you don't get mixed up on what name to send it to. We'll decide who it goes to. You can just send it to Political Defense Fund, 2350 West Madison. If you want to send something to Breakfast for Children, you can send it to 2350 West Madison also, and you can earmark that money to go to the Breakfast for Children program.

We got Mickey on our mind tonight--and everybody knows we got Huey P. Newton on our mind tonight. We got every political prisoner in jail on our mind tonight. Let's talk about it. We understand that Mickey White, Huey P. Newton and Dennis Mora; people like Bobby Hutton and Eldridge Cleaver--all of these people either dead, or in exile or in jail. A lot of people understanding this will lose real faith in the vanguard by not understanding what we're talking about.

GO WITH THE PEOPLE

A lot of these people will go up to you in a minute and say, "Why all these people being taken, why haven't they shot it out with some pigs." Well, what do we say? If you kill a few, you get a little satisfaction. But when you can kill them ALL you get complete satisfaction. That's why we haven't moved. We have to organize the people. We have to educate the people. We have to arm the people. We have to teach them about revolutionary political power; and when they understand all that we won't be killing no few and getting no little satisfaction, we'll be killing em'all and getting complete satisfaction.

So what should we do if we're the vanguard? What is it right to do? Is it right for the leadership of that struggle to go faster than the followers of that struggle can go? NO! We're not going to be dealing no commandism, we're not going to be dealing in no tailism. We say that just as fast as the people can possibly go, that's just as fast as we can take it.

While we take it we must be sure that we are not missing the people in the valley. In the valley we know that we can learn to understand the life of the people. We know that with all the bullshit out here you can come to consider yourself on the mountain top. I may even consider myself one day on the mountaintop. I I may have already. But I know that in the valley there are people like Benny and there are people like me, people like Mickey White and people like Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. And that below the valley are people like Bobby Hutton, people like Eldridge Cleaver. We know that going into the valley is a dangerous thing. We know that when you go into the valley you got to make a committment.

A lot of people think the revolution is bullshit, but it's not. A lot of us think that when you get in the revolution you can talk your way out of things, but thats not true. Ask Bobby Hutton, ask Huey Newton, ask Eldridge Cleaver, Mickey White and Dennis Mora. Ask these people whether its a game. If you get yourself involved in a revolutionary struggle then you've got to be serious. You got to know what you're doing. You got to already have practiced some type of theory. That's the reason we ask people to follow the leadership of the vanguard party. Because we all theorizing and we all practicing. We make mistakes, but we're always correcting them and we're always getting better.

We used to run around yellin 'bout Panther Power--the Panthers run it. We admit we made mistakes. Our ten point program is in the midst of being changed right now, because we used the word white when we should have used the word cap-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

BLACK SOLDIERS AS REVOLUTIONARIES TO OVERTHROW THE RULING CLASS

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 20, 1969

This is the county jail, city prison, San Francisco, California. And this is Bobby Seale, the Chairman of the Black Panther Party of which Huey P. Newton is the Minister of Defense, and Eldridge Cleaver is the Minister of Information. I am presently incarcerated here as a political prisoner in the same manner that our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, is incarcerated in another prison here in California known as C.M.C. (south of San Francisco 200 miles). And I wanted to send a message from jail here as a political prisoner.

We are here in America, brothers, (Black G.I.'s, who this message is to), trying to rid ourselves of the oppressive conditions that we've been subjected to for 400 years. And now they have Black brothers with their lives on the line, dying and fighting a people who are only wanting for themselves, self-determination in their own homeland and to unify their country and unify their people. And the only reason that Black G.I.'s are over there, or Brown G.I.'s, or Red (Indian-American) G.I.'s, Chicanos, and even white G.I.'s, the only reason you're there is because the fascist, ruling class circles of America (the avaricious, big-time, businessmen, the big rich men; the demagogic, lying politicians, the misleading politicians who mislead and try to lie to the people) are the ones who put you there and the ones who mean to keep you there. They're the ones making fascists out of you brothers. And it's correct that the Vietnamese should defend themselves and defend their land and fight for the right to self-determination, because they have NEVER oppressed us. They have NEVER called us "nigger". They have NEVER done anything wrong to us. The leadership of the Vietnamese is that of heroic people. This is also true of the Vietnamese people who are heroic people, fighting for their right to self-determination.

And so, the same goes for Black people here in America living in wretched ghettos and oppression. We have been struggling for 400 years, as many of you Black brothers are well aware. I know you dream about home. But when you come home, come home and realize that you have a fight here, that we have the right to control our destinies in our Black community; as the Chicano people have a right to control their destinies in their Chicano community or areas and places where they live; as the American Indians have a right to control their destiny; as the poor, oppressed white people have a right to control their destiny (many poor, oppressed white people must realize that it's the ruling class). The Indian-Americans, the Chicano-Americans, the Latino-Americans and Brown people, and Black people in America are beginning to move more and more in opposition to the oppressive conditions that the SAME avaricious businessmen and demagogic, lying politicians create and maintain--that exploitation. The workers of this country are beginning to move more and more, day by day, step by step from a lower to a higher level in opposing the ruling class circles, because they (the ruling class circles) are the ones who keep the racism going. They are the ones who keep people hating each other because of skin color, etc.

The Black Panther Party, brothers, does not fight racism with racism. There are no white people in the Black Panther Party but we do have alliances with white radical student groups who have stood up in protest against that war for your sake and for all the G.I. s' sake. We wanted them back home. We wanted to bring them back home as a means to end that war, demanding and protesting that the G.I.'s come back home and the war end.

The Black brothers, Vietnam Black G.I's, must understand and feel desire to oppose oppression right here at home domestically. Oppose fascism. The cops occupy our community just like a foreign troop occupies territory. Just like you are a foreign troop there in Vietnam, occupying territory at the directions of the fascist ruling class and their military leaders who are also a part of the fascist ruling class. Not at the will of the people of America are you there. You're there because the imperialist U.S. aggressors (and that's exactly what they are) have sent you there. And we'll be glad when you come back, because here you must fight the pigs who occupy our community. In every major city and metropolis throughout America police forces have been doubled, tripled, and quadrupled wherever Black people live; where the large populations of Chicano people live; where the large populations of people who are protesting and opposing war; are protesting and opposing the poverty and the murder and brutality that's committed against Black people in the Black community. Whatever the case, these police forces have been tripled and quadrupled with machine guns, AR-15s (the same kinds of guns you brothers got and are carrying over there). 357 magnums (you can stand up and shoot 10 demonstrators with one bullet with a .357 or a .44 magnum) that these cops carry here.

They're not solving the problems of the people, the U.S. government, the local government, the federal government, and the city governments. All they're doing is putting money out for more arms. And now a state of DOMESTIC imperialism exists here to the extent that genocide can begin to be committed tomorrow, if they decide.

We'll be glad when you come home. We oppose the war here, we say, "Power to the People." We want all the people to move to have proletarian democracy--workers democracy (a real people's democracy), and not capitalistic, exploiting democracy for the minority ruling class. There are only 800 big, rich businessmen who control this imperialistic regime in America. There are numerous demagogic politicians, from the local government to the federal government. There are approximately half a million or more local police, some more millions of national guardsmen. But they are used against, not to protect the people. They're used to murder and to brutalize the people, such as at the National Democratic Convention back in August of 1968.

The numerous amounts of brutality that are going on, and you brothers haven't even heard about them. The political prisoners that Black Panther Party members have been made (We have over 50 political prisoners here) all because the Ten Point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party began to be implemented. And what was the Ten Point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party?

From the very beginning of the Party the Ten Point Platform has always read: We want freedom. We want the right to determine our destiny in our own Black community. Number two: We want full employment for our people. Number



BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN, B.P.P., POLITICAL PRISONER

three: We want the end to oppression and the exploitation of the Black community by the capitalists in our communities. Number four: We want decent housing fit for shelter of human beings. Five says: We want a decent education. It says we want decent education that teaches us about the true nature of this decadent American society an education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society. And number six says: We want all Black men to be exempt from military service. That's what we demand here of this government. (We really want you home, brothers). Number seven says: We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people. The last two points of the Program covers our right to fair trial by peers as it says in the Constitution of the United States.

It's important Black brothers that we understand the need to come home. It's important that we understand that the Vietnamese people are only fighting for the right to self-determination in their land. It's important, brothers, that we understand it's the fascist ruling class circle who have you there, who got you fighting there. It's important, brothers, that you understand that your fight is really right here at home in America. So when you come back, you'll be fighting against the oppression that we've been subjected to for 400 years. So I will wind this statement up and probably, hopefully, send some more. Better yet, I think I should say a few more things concerning Black G.I.'s and the history of this country.

In the Civil War when there was a fight between the North and the South, in that Civil War, 186,000 Black people enlisted in the military service. We were promised freedom, justice, and equality; and we never received it. During World War I there were over 350,000 Black Americans in World War I. And we were promised freedom, justice, and equality; and we never received it. In World War II some 850,000 almost a million Black Americans fought in that war as Black G.I.'s. And we were promised freedom, justice, and equality; and we never received it. Then there was the Korean War the fascist ruling class aggressors put together. And we fought there. Now, here it is again--another war against a people who are trying to fight for the right of their self-determination. They don't even promise you "freedom, justice, and equality" anymore. Kinda bad now, brothers.

If we would only begin to realize the necessity of not being a tool for the fascist aggressor! And that doesn't only go for Black G.I.'s. That goes for Mexican-American G.I.'s, Chicano brothers, rather; that goes for the Indian American G.I.'s and Chinese-American G.I's; and that goes for even the poor white American G.I.'s who have to understand. That goes for even the G.I.'s who have some humanistic understanding about a people's right to survive and a right to determine their own destiny in their own land, like the average human being who can understand that Black people have been oppressed for 400 years here in America--all G.I.'s. And the Chicano people are oppressed, and the Indian-Americans are oppressed.

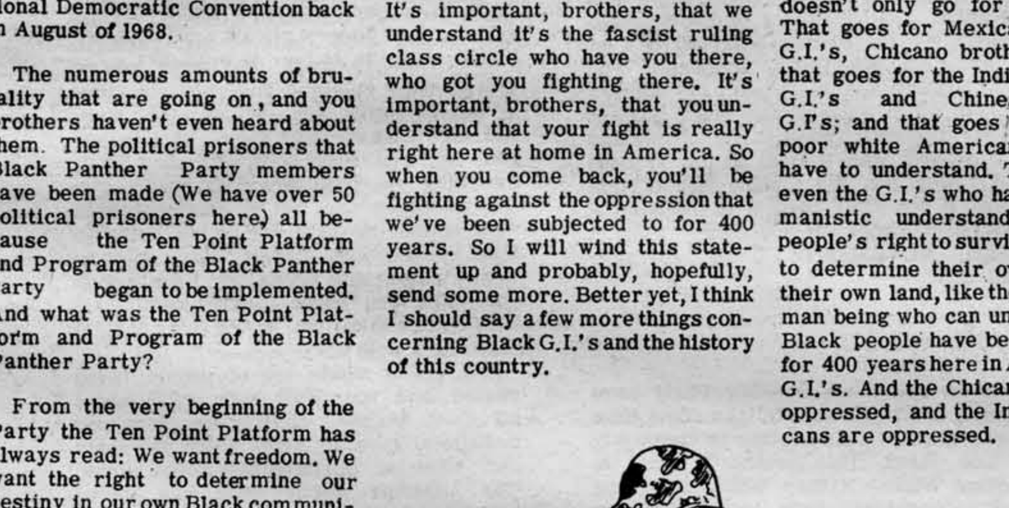
You guys know that. Every last one of you know that. You cats come from off the block, you Black brothers. And I know you. You know me just as well as I know you. The many times we use to break off into parties and be fighting and carrying on. Some of you would be blowing joints, and drinking and carrying on and being sharp, trying to get you some clean clothes, and chasing them sisters out there. You ain't no different from other brothers; only we just turned political. We just turned political. We're being made political prisoners because we're standing up out there against this fascist ruling class, against those fascist, racist pigs who occupy our community like a foreign troop occupies territory. We're the same, but we're just in two different places. We should be here fighting here at home. They protest over here for the freedom of political prisoners. You should all be closer at protesting over there for the freedom of political prisoners in America.

Power to the people. Power to the people; that's what we say. Power to all the people. And get rid of the power, take the power away from the minority ruling class circles, the imperialists and fascists here in America. The same thing they're doing over there to the Vietnamese people, they're getting ready to upstep and do to Black American people. The same thing; the same kind of weapons, vicious weapons. They have tanks; they have nerve gas and everything else prepared. And it's time that we understand and realize this. All the masses of the people and the G.I.'s and the people at home are the ones who have to protest the war, are the ones who have to protest the injustices right here at home.

So you brothers who are dreaming about coming back home, when you get back home, you're going to see that same oppression. They're going to promise you a job; but you're going to be out of a job. In some cases they're going to try to give some of you dishonorable discharges for one reason or another and tell you that you can't get a job when you get back. But all you have to do is tell him it wasn't no jobs here when you left. And that's why you got off into that thing anyway. You went into the service for the same reason I went into it at one time over 10 years ago, some fourteen years, now; 'cause it wasn't no jobs, it wasn't nothing to do, and you didn't have any money in your pocket and you was frustrated with your surroundings and basically your enviornment. That's the reason most of you brothers went in there. It was a way to get a chance to do something. And you feel you'd go in the Army and some guy'd sell you some insidious notion about being a man, and all that kind of crap. And you were already a man. You're a human being. That's the first basis for being a man; it's being a human being, and not going out trying to prove how many colored peoples you can kill in a foreign land. That's not being a man; that's being a fascist. And that's what the fascist power structure does.

So to ALL Black American G.I.'s, it's very important that you understand the need to come home; the need to relate to the struggle here; the need for the people and us to get mobilized and to amass together to free the political prisoners; the need to fight for community control of police where the people will have control, not of the same police, but fire those in now and set up community control operations. The Breakfast for Children Programs. Understand that the demagogic politicians are lying. They're lying on the Party. They've attacked the Party; they've attacked our offices. And in some cases we've had to defend ourselves with weapons because we vowed that we would stand and defend ourselves, to defend our people and teach our people the correct methods to resist the pig power structure here in America, the fascist ruling class, the exploiters. That's what they are--oppressors.

So, power to the people, brothers. And please come on home, brothers. And when you get home, we'll be waiting for you.



BOBBY SEALE
CHAIRMAN
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture, Black Panther Party

ON REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1969

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

We, Black people in Babylon, are fighting for liberation from political domination at the hands of the oppressor, from economic exploitation, and from a social system that degrades us as men and women. Out of this struggle comes a new way of life based on the politics of the people's struggle. This new way of life is a struggle for change, a revolutionary struggle involving the masses of people. Just as the liberation struggle brings about new politics, it also brings about a new culture, a revolutionary culture. Born out of the people's desire for change from a corrupt system to a system that serves the people, a system that is free from exploitation of man by man, and meets the desires and needs of the masses of people.

The old culture is a culture based on exploitation and competition whereas revolutionary culture is based on cooperation. "Breakfast for Children, Free Health Clinics, and "Liberation Schools," are just some of the programs implemented that are part of the revolutionary culture. These cultural programs will be carried out throughout the liberation struggle because our children have gone hungry and without proper medical care besides being given misinformation in school for too long at the hands of this oppressive system. Through the new culture, our children receive the nutrients that are needed to develop physically and mentally, so they can survive this corrupt system and build a new one that serves the people.

The cooperation on which the new culture is based is the masses of people working together in the interest of humanity, fighting off a decadent culture, replacing it with a culture that works in the interests of the people. Our new culture being based on the politics of the People's Party can only be implemented through many battles with the pigs of the power structure, the exploiters, since the new culture is free of exploitation. Therefore, self-defense becomes a part of the new culture, manifested in 357 Magnum, Machine Guns, M-15's, Hand Grenades, 12 Gauge Shotguns, and Browning Automatics because the people have accepted the reality of armed self-defense being the only way to liberation.

Also out of the struggle for liberation comes a new literature and art. Based on the people's struggle, this revolutionary art takes on new form. The revolutionary artist begins to arm his talent with steel, as well as learning the art of self-defense, becoming one with the people by going into their midst, not standing aloof, and going into the very thick of practical struggle.

This new born culture is not peculiar to the oppressed Black masses but transcends communities and racial lines because all oppressed people can relate to revolutionary change which is the starting point for developing a revolutionary cluture.

SEIZE THE TIME!
Emory Douglas
Minister of Culture
Black Panther Party



EMORY DOUGLAS
MINISTER OF CULTURE, B.P.P.

NIGGER TOWN



'BUNCHY' ASSASSINATED JANUARY-'69

In Nigger Town
In Nigger Town
The streets are made of mud
Infested with rats and bats and bugs
In Nigger Town
In Nigger Town

The streets are made of brick
Ask any swinging dick that happens past
Why won't he get off his big, fat, black, funky ass
A grumbling snitch
A shot of shit for a dope fiend bitch
Hid behind the cemetary in the fog
A leg, a hog, a short dog of Elderberry
Misery spreads and brothers dead
Cause Charlie's runnin' in the red

In Nigger Town one day
Four little children kneeled to pray
---In Jesus' name
Boom!
Four little children gone
And Jesus never came
Now you say, you're tired of all this shit
You suck-a-pawed son-of-a-bitch
If you was, you'd ball your mitt
Do something nigger if you only spit!
Tell the truth snaggle-tooth
I know you're scared you mother goose

With niggers in Nigger Town
I'm fed up to my neck
About a drunk, a thief, a punk
I wouldn't give a husky heck
In Nigger Town.

"Bunchy"



Black Mother

i must confess that i still breathe
though you are not yet free
what could justify my crying start
forgive my cowards heart
— but blame me not the sheepish me
for i have just awakened from a deep, deep, sleep
and i be hazed, and dazed, and scared
and vipers fester in my hair
BLACK MOTHER i curse your drudging years
the rapes, and heart-breaks, sweat and tears
— but this cannot redeem the fact —
you cried in pain, i turned my back
and ran into the myers fog
and watched while you were dogged
and died a thousand deaths
but i swear on seige night dark and gloom
a rose i'll wear to honor you, and when i fall
the rose in hand
you'll be free and i a man
for a slave of natural death who dies
can't balance out to two dead flies
i'd rather be without the shame
a bullet lodged within my brain
if i were not to reach our goal
let bleeding cancer torment my soul.

ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER

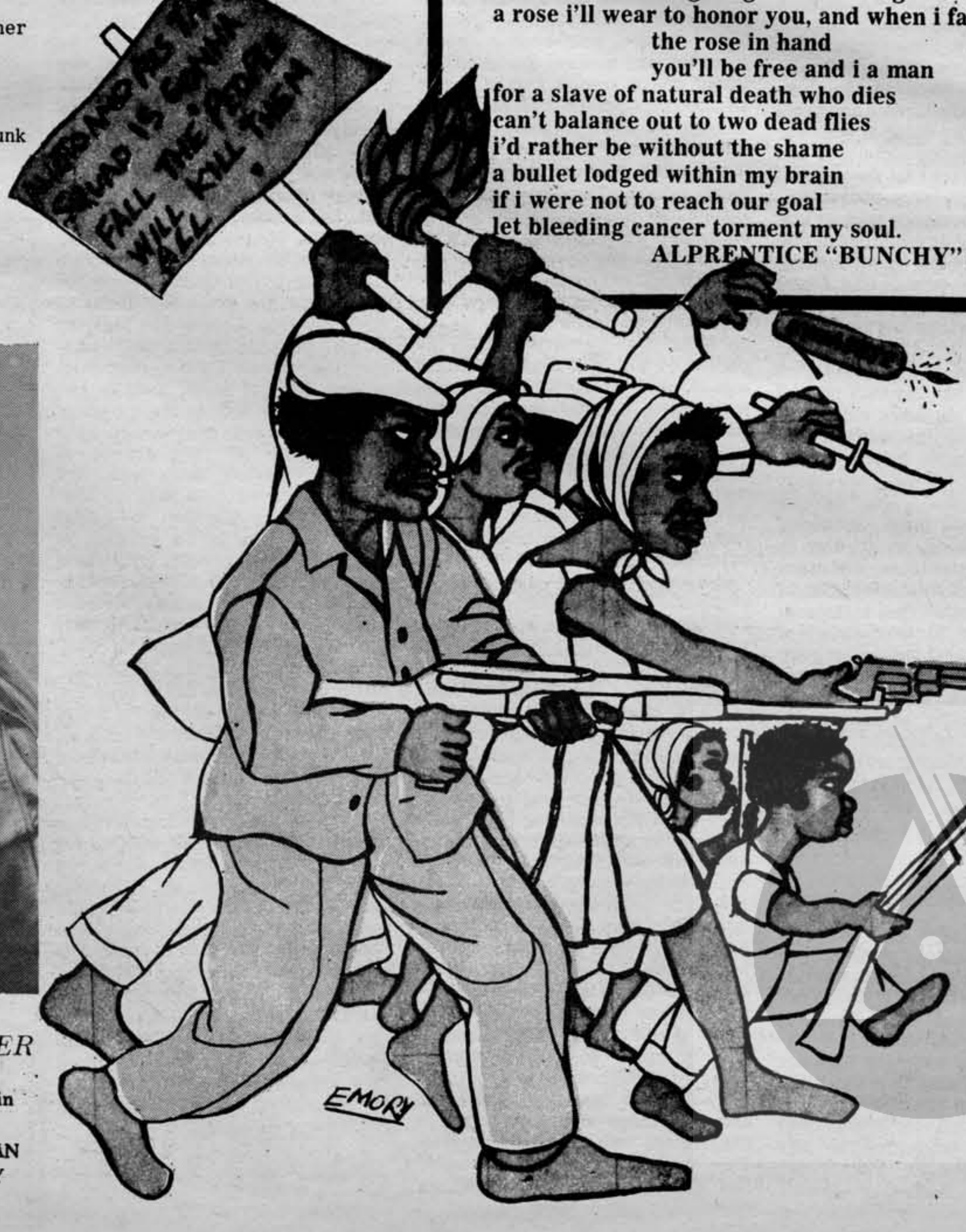
BOBBY'S POEM

Uncle Sammy called us full of Lucifer
But we're calling him Lucifer for burning
Us. That's the beginning as to why we
Don't give a good eagle-eyed McFlegal
Tripplewhammy damn. So, All you fools
Who think you are looking at the Geek
Might as well go and get your money back
For that ticket you
Got from Uncle Sammy and call him a pig
Define this bastard for a better conscious
So that you wont continue acting like a freak
Gestapo dog. Just relate to the fact that
You must pick up the gun to survive. Everyone knows
That many of you Bastards contribute to
Tax-deductable charity organizations that
So-called Superman Lynching Baines has set up.
Burn Baby Burn was the beginning cry that
Depicts to all you freakish fools the level of
Our consciousness. Sing the song "Fuck"
Mickey Mouse Ronald Reagan"
daily and as
Human Beings challenge the whole racist Exploitative
Government to a duel. Because if we had the
Ear phones for you to wear to be
told what to
Do we would damn sure put that in your EARS.



BOBBY SEALE
POLITICAL PRISONER

BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN
BLACK PANTHER PARTY



THE THIN BLUE LINE

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1969

America is doomed. This is a fact beyond dispute. Besieged by all the peoples of the world, America is being forced to withdraw. The capitalist rulers of this country everyday see their dreams of world empire crumbling into dust beneath their very feet. Not only is America on the retreat all around the world but internally America is falling apart. All the lying tricks that the demogogical politicians and avaricious businessmen used in the past to keep the people divided, confused and passified are no longer working. The forces of liberation have knocked the glittering outer shell away from the American nightmare in all its hideous oppressive forms. Unable to maintain their rule by tricks and lies, the greedy capitalist rulers have turned to the last resort of all tyrants and madmen, brute force and terror. Around the world the forces of liberation are confronted by the mercenaries of U.S. Army, Air Force, and Navy. And here in the confines of decadent America the forces of liberation in the colony and oppressor country are presently being confronted by an equally vicious pack of parasites. The hired killers of the pig departments, the men in blue. America's thin Blue Line.

The Scum of Society

Forced into retreat, the ruling circles have scraped the bottom of the barrel to assemble this last desperate line of defense. The local state and federal pig forces who constitute this Thin Blue Line live by murdering, maiming and torturing the people. Last year a report was issued that gave a rundown on the men who make up the pig departments. According to this report, the pigs constitute all the failures and derelicts of society. Unable to find jobs in other fields, and failing in all their other attempts, these derelicts turn to all the degenerate sadistic Ku Klux Klansmen, Minutemen, perverts, gangsters and alcoholics that this sick society produces. The idea of the friendly neighborhood policeman is nothing but another illusion of the American dream that vanishes rapidly on contact with reality. Historically the pig departments throughout this country have been nothing but hired killers for the power structure. Under the clothes of the policeman's star sadistically dressed in blue he can maim, torture, and kill at will with complete impunity, and for doing it well, can receive medals and bonuses. It's a well known fact that the pig departments in the large cities regularly recruit southern racists who are paid $800.00 or more per month to patrol the Black communities, murdering and brutalizing Black people--all in the name of some so-called American law and order. Catholic Mayor Allioto of San Francisco, who goes to church every Sunday, has his own special unit of Italian gansters clothed in blue and paid by the people. This wing of the mafia known as the tactical squad is used regularly to suppress the people of San Francisco at good Catholic Allioto's command, even going so far as viciously clubbing and macing peace demonstrators inside of Grace Cathedral. The tactics of Catholic Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago's gangster pig department is well known to the people who attended and had their heads busted open and bloodied at last years Democratic Convention. These Irish pigs of Daley's were acting like rabid dogs attacking everything that moved. Once they were turned loose no one who wasn't in Blue was spared.

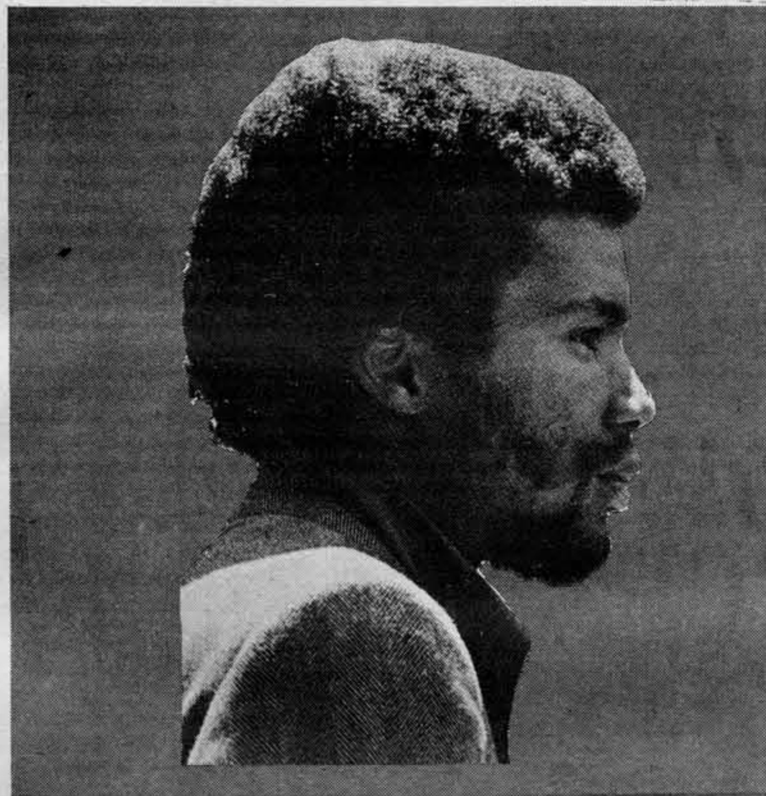
Dangerous and Isolated

Those weaklings and perverts look upon themselves as defenders of the American way of life, shouldering the "Whiteman's Burdern" and holding back the barbaric hordes who would destroy civilization. In many ways the pigs are far more dangerous than the military, for unlike the military, who are not allowed to bring their weapons home on leave, the pigs are never unarmed. There are many many examples of off-duty pigs killing and maiming people. George Baskett was murdered by a drunken off-duty San Francisco Irish pig named O'Brien. Shortly before that another off-duty pig shot and wounded his neighbor in the head one morning because he was mad at a cat on his back fence and last year the news of three off duty pigs having a shoot out and killing each other on the freeway following a traffic accident filled the newspapers. There have been repeated public outcrys to disarm off-duty pigs, but the pigs still have their guns. The pigs are not only dangerous but they are also isolated. Their actions are so repulsive to the other segments of society that no one, not even their bosses, like them or wants to be around them. No one associates with them but other pigs. As a result of this the pigs have formed a caste consciousness which makes them doubly dangerous. This small armed body exercises power far beyond what their numbers should command. In New York last summer, the head of the 28,000 member policeman's association went on television and publically oinked in the peoples faces and stated that they, the pigs, would no longer take orders from the politicians and city council. As pigs, he oinked, they knew the law, they had the guns and no one, no matter who, was going to tell them how to police the city. At that time the pigs had machine guns mounted on the roofs of the schools, to keep the people in the poor communities, from opening the city schools to teach their own children since the racist teachers union was on strike. There was very little protest from Mayor Lindsay's office and no action was taken because he, like the other avaricious businessmen, rely on the pigs to maintain their slippery footing.

Running Amuck Without Restraint

The Thin Blue Line is completely out of the people's control and running amuck. The pigs break every law in the land, and if and when brought to court are always found "not guilty" and are released. Last year following the railroading of our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, Mayor Redding of Oakland had 2,000 Oakland pigs, most of the Highway Patrol, pigs from neighboring communities and several thousand National guard troops staked out in and around Oakland trying to spring a trap on the Panthers. Instead, following Huey's orders, the Panthers were cool and the pigs blew their minds. They had just been issued new weapons by the federal pigs and were raving mad with power. As a result the pigs turned to their bottled courage, got drunk and shot up the Panther office. The pigs were so drunk they even shot up their own squad car. When the pigs were brought to court the case was thrown out due to "insufficient evidence", despite the fact that there were witnesses to the incident and the pigs had shot up their own squad car. The pigs are outside the law and drunk with power. In Los Angeles, Leonard Dedwiler was murdered by a big highway patrolman whose .357 magnum "accidently" went off after he stopped Dedwiler for speeding. Dedwiler was taking his pregnant wife to the hospital. The coroners verdict: justifiable homocide. In Washington, D. C. this filthy nation's capital, last summer, a crazed pig murdered a black man in the streets for jay walking and was never brought to court. The instances of pigs playing judge, Jury, and Executioner on "suspected" criminals are too numerous to be listed here. In most cases if the person had been found guilty in court the sentence would have been less than 6 months, but the pigs see to it that they never get to court. Over the past year the pigs in their filthy blue uniforms have attacked the people in every major city throughout America. In order to try and silence some of the protest being raised by the people, the local politicians and avaricious businessmen have dangled the idea of community review boards in front of the people. But the people are beyond such tricks and they know, as David Hilliard, our Chief of Staff, has said, that such talk is nonsense:

"We cannot waste time talking about community police review boards because a community review board will not act as a shield for a .357 magnum bullet. We know that the only way to stop these motherfuckers is by picking up guns and killing those motherfuckers before they get a chance to kill us".



LANDON WILLIAMS,
POLITICAL PRISONER

Thin Out The Line

Their speed and mobility make the pigs look far more numerous than they really are. There are only 200,000 pigs in the entire country and they are spread out mighty thin. There are 28,000 pigs in New York but there are about 2 million black people in Harlem. Although the pigs have cars that can reach 120 miles per hour on the freeways, a 30-06 bullet travels at 33,000 feet per second and armor piercing bullets go through armor plate. The Thin Blue Line survives by using terror tactics like Hitler's Gestapo. Whenever there's a disturbance they amass a large number of pigs on the scene and by a show of force try to scare the people into submission. By taking advantage of the terrain and using the correct tactics the people can deal with any situation. When making a raid, the pigs try to use guerrilla tactics on the people. They sneak into the community in the dead of night, usually between 3:00 - 4:00 in the morning. Like the cowards they are 10-25 of them vamp on one person or family, ransack their home and then hastily retreat back to the safety of the pig pen to return when the sun is up to oink in the faces of the people. By rigging a system of community alarms and establishing community defense teams, the people could quickly put a stop to this type of shit. All it takes is courage and determination. The days of the pigs are numbered. Every day the Thin Blue Line gets worn thinner and thinner. Last year 167 pigs were thinned out by liberation fighters and this year looks as though it will surpass last year. Like the Roman legions were smashed by the people who valued freedom above Roman values, so will the blue line be smashed. History shows that there never has been an oppressive society that the people could not topple--and so it will be with America. When the people rise like a mighty storm the Thin Blue Line will be trampled into the dust. As Huey P. Newton teaches us, "The oppressor must be allowed no peace by day or night, he must be harassed until his doom".

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
Landon Williams
Political Prisoner

OPEN LETTER TO JUNE:

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
June,

I just thought I'd drop you a few lines to let you know how Rory and I are doing. Like the Minister of Defense said, "The prison cannot be victorious." The essence of Rory and I are manifested in the actions that the people take against the fascists and their running dogs. So Rory and I are doing as well as the people. With every victory they win, we rejoice. We can never be separated from the people by anything. As long as the people live, we live, and we will never stop resisting. That's the nature of the people, that's the nature of a Panther!

Mayor Daley's 'thin blue line' may have murdered Fred and Mark but they live in our people's struggle. The pigs will one day have to pay a blood debt to their countless atrocities. The people's courts that we will hold will make the Neurmburg tribunal look like a girl scout convention.

It's a beautiful thing to see all the organizations in the Black communities throughout America coming together in support of the Party, but it's tragic that it takes a double murder to bring them together. How many more deaths will it take, how many more 'search and destroy' missions before they really realize what's happening. I know it's all a part of revolution June, and that it is the materialist theory of knowledge, it's just that I'd like to take a big stick and try to beat some sense into their heads; scream "Niggers wake up" or something. I know you understand what I mean

How are the rest of our comrades doing. Tell them we send our revolutionary love to them. Tell the Chief his Nov. 15th speech was right on, Rory and I can sure dig that. That's our Chief.

The time is drawing near. Each and every day shows how decadent and anarchistic the imperialist, led by U.S. imperialism are. The peoples of the world will cut off the tenacles and we will cut out the heart. The imperialist are getting more frantic everyday. Nixon's speechs are a prime example of capitalist insanity. How in the he-- can he really expect the Vietnamese people to go for his sh-t and be intimidated by his empty threats. Ain't nothing he can do that hasn't already been done, except to drop an A-bomb, and we all know that that's a paper tiger. Victory belongs to the Vietnamese people. They've dared to struggle, and they'll dare to win.

The same thing goes for the colony. The national liberation of the colony, our new democratic revolution will succeed. Ain't nothing the pigs can do to stop it. I know it, you know it, the Party members know it, and the people are waking up to that fact. All that is left to do is to accelerate the destruction of fascism and capitalsim. The hardest part still lies ahead, but victory is ours June. You can feel it in the air. You can taste it on the tip of your tongue. It's been a long struggle, much longer than both our lives put together, but the end to all the suffering and tyranny is in sight. Take care of yourself June. Watch your back and watch the Chief's back too. Down with U.S. capitalism, the no. 1 enemy of the peoples of the world. See you on the day of victory in our people's happiness.

DARE TO STRUGGLE,
DARE TO WIN.
Your comrade,
Landon
Political Prisoner, Denver County Jail



RORY HITHE POLITICAL PRISONER

FREE THE CONNECTICUT PANTHERS

MESSAGE TO SISTER ERICA HUGGINS

From Eldridge Cleaver

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1969

I want to send a very special word to sister Erica Huggins, the wife of our slain and murdered Deputy Minister of Information in Los Angeles, brother John Huggins, who was murdered along with our Deputy Minister of Defense, brother Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter; he's Bunchy to me.

Sister Erica is now incarcerated in Connecticut. The pigs have plotted with a bald head renegade, a boot-licking, Black capitalist, cultural nationalist reactionary Ron Karenga and his stooges, to take the lives of these two dearly beloved, hard working brothers.

And now, the pigs have compounded this by taking this woman, this Black woman, this sister (after inflicting the horrible pain upon her by murdering the father or her newborn child) taking her away from her child and placing her behind bars on some trumped up charges.

I know Erica, and I know that she's a very strong sister. But I know that she is now being subjected to a form of torture that is horrible. I know she is strong and that she will endure. And sister Erica--be strong, sister.

We must not rest until this sister is liberated; and if she is not out at this moment, then she should be out just as rapidly as it is possible for us to get her out. And let her suffering be a lesson and an example to all of us; let it be a lesson and an example to all of the sisters, particularly to all of the brothers. We must understand that our women are suffering, that they are participating just as strongly and enthusiastically as we are participating in the struggle. And I'm aware that it has been a problem in all organizations in Babylon to structure our struggle in such a manner that the sisters, the women are liberated and made equal in



ERICA HUGGINS--INCARCERATED IN NEW HAVEN, CONN.

our struggle and in the regard in which they are held. I know the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, has spoken out many times against the male chauvinism that is rampant in Babylon in general, and also rampant within our own ranks.

The incarceration and suffering of sister Erica should be a stinging rebuke to all manifestations of male chauvinism within our ranks. We must purge our ranks and our hearts and our minds and our understanding of any chauvinism, chauvinistic behavior or disrespectful behavior toward women. We have to recognize that a woman can be just as revolutionary as a man and that she has equal status along with men and that we cannot prejudice her in any way; we cannot regulate her to an inferior position. We have to recognize our women as our equals and that our revolutionary standards of principles demand that we go to great lengths to see to it that disciplinary action is taken on all levels against those who manifest male chauvinistic behavior. Because the liberation of women is one of the most important issues facing the world today. Great efforts have been made in varying parts of the world to do something about this. But I know, from my own experiences, that the smouldering and the burning and flaming desire for liberation of women in Babylon is the issue that is going to explode; and if we're not careful it's going to destroy our ranks, destroy our organization, because women want to be liberated just as all oppressed people want to be liberated.

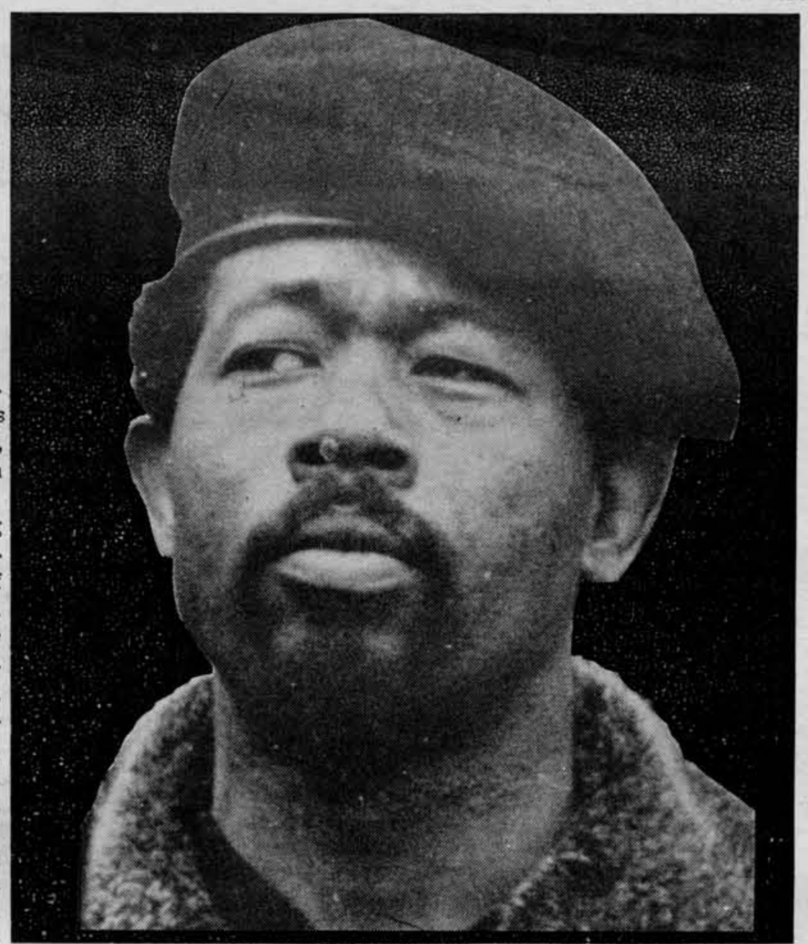
So if we want to go around and call ourselves a vanguard organization, then we've got to be vanguard in all our behavior, and to be vanguard also in the area of women's liberation and to go forth and set an example in that area, and all of us to start being respectful and not condescending and patronizing, to really understand and to look upon this question and recognize that women are our other half; they're not our weaker half, they're not our stronger half, but they are our other half and that we sell ourselves out, we sell our children out, and we sell women out when we treat them in any other manner.

We have to be very careful about that. And sister Erica Huggins is a shining example of a revolutionary woman who is being meted out the same kind of injustice from the pig power structure that a revolutionary man receives. So they did not put her in a powder puffed cell; they did not make life easy for her. But the pigs recognize a revolutionary woman to be just as much a threat as a revolutionary man.

And so recognizing that we also have a duty to give the respect that is due, to give the justice that is due, not to give but to stop inflicting injustice and to stop all manifestations and misuse of women. We have to be very careful about that, and we all know the problems. But I'm saying that it is mandatory. The Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, has said that it is mandatory that all manifestations of male chauvinism be excluded from our ranks and that sisters have a duty and a right to do whatever they want to see to it that they are not relegated to an inferior position, and that they're not treated as though they are not equal members of the Party and equal in all regards, and they're not subjected to male chauvinistic practices.

And sister Erica Huggins is a good example of a revolutionary woman who has sacrificed everything, including the very life of her husband. So sister Erica, right on, and POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,
MINISTER OF INFORMATION
BLACK PANTHER PARTY



ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, MINISTER OF INFORMATION, B.P.P.

FOR WORLD PEACE

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1969



Photo by D. Klein

IN SOLIDARITY AGAINST A COMMON ENEMY--THE NLF OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE B.P.P. OF BABYLON

The genocidal imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam is not separate and disconnected from the genocidal fascist war of repression now going on against Black people within the confines of the United States. The U.S. ruling class is the number one enemy of all oppressed peoples and to insure peace in America to ALL its people is to insure peace through-out the world for all the people. We know that as long as fascist wars of repression and imperialist wars of aggression are inflicted on any people anywhere there will be no peace.

IN THE NAME OF WORLD PEACE WE DEMAND:

In Vietnam:

1. The immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam.
2. The immediate end to all U.S. imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of Vietnam.
3. Restitution for the material destruction U.S. imperialism has criminally perpetrated against the soverign people of Vietnam.
4. That the U.S. imperialist ruling class pay a blood-debt before a revolutionary Tribunal for the vicious, sadistic, cruel and inhuman slaughter of the Vietnamese people.

In Babylon (America)

1. That the U.S. government drop the trumped-up "Conspiracy" charges against the "Conspiracy 8" and that Rennie Davis and Dave Dellinger be allowed to return to Hanoi, where they would be met by our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver so that the three of them could discuss with the Vietnamese the freeing of Americans, now held prisoners of war, in exchange for the dropping of all charges against our Minister of Defense and Founder Huey P. Newton and our Chairman Bobby Seale. This proposed Freedom of Political PRISONERS in exchange for Prisoners of War could only be ignored by a government that has no concern for its poor, its peace-loving, its non-White, and its soldiers, and even less concern for PEACE.

2. Withdraw the troops (who occupy our communities like a foreign troop occupies territory). Replace the occupying army of the police with a public force of (Black) men who live in the community to maintain order and harmony; also station U.N. observers in the Black colony to observe and halt the police gestapo actions against Black people. PREVENT GENOCIDE AND RACIST EXTERMINATION; violating the U.N. Charter of Human Rights and the lives and right to life and Peace of Black people.

PRISONERS OF WAR FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

If you have sons, husbands or friends who are prisoners of war in Vietnam, send us their name, rank and serial numbers. We will forward this information to Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party; and attempt to exchange their freedom for the freedom of the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton and Chairman Bobby Seale, who are political prisoners here in "fascist Babylon."

HUEY'S APPEAL

PART 17

EDITOR'S NOTE:

The following article is taken from the appeal prepared by the attorneys defending Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party. Huey's attorneys have moved to have the case reviewed by the Court of Appeals of the State of California. The Black Panther News Paper will print the appeal in part--every week to give the people all the facts as to why Huey P. Newton should be set free immediately.

F. The Trial Court's Failure to Grant Judgment of Acquittal as to First and Second Degree Murder, Pursuant to Penal Code Section 1118.1, Constituted Prejudicial Error.

1. THE TRIAL COURT APPLIED AN ERRONEOUS INTERPRETATION OF PENAL CODE SECTION 1118.1, SO AS TO PRECLUDE ITS APPLICATION TO ACQUITTAL AS TO A DEGREE OF AN OFFENSE.

At the conclusion of the prosecution's case, the defendant moved for judgment of acquittal of first degree and second degree murder and of the kidnapping and assault charges (R.T. 2668-69). The motion was granted as to the kidnapping charge (R.T. 2730), denied as to the assault charge (Id.), and denied as to the first and second degree murder charges (Id.). The trial court indicated that it accepted the prosecution's argument that section 1118.1 did not empower or authorize the trial court to acquit as to degrees of an offense (R.T. 2718-20, 2725, 2729).

The only reasonable construction of section 1118.1 compels the reading that a trial court must grant acquittal as to any offense or degree of a given offense for which evidence before the court is insufficient to sustain conviction on appeal. Penal Code section 1118.1 reads, in pertinent part:

> "In a case tried before a jury, the court on motion of the defendant or on its own motion, at the close of the evidence on either side and before the case is submitted to the jury for decision, shall order the entry of a judgment of acquittal of one or more of the offenses charged in the accusatory pleading if the evidence then before the court is insufficient to sustain a conviction of such offense or offenses on appeal."

In People v. Anderson (Superior Court, Solano County, No. 4919, November 1967), Judge Raymond Sherwin ordered judgment of acquittal on the charge of first degree murder at the close of the People's case in a prosecution for murder.

There are no reported appellate decisions on the application of section 1118.1 to offenses defined in terms of degrees. The reasoning in California decisions with respect to analagous problems of interpretation of the terms "degree" and "offense", and a sensible reading of the statute, compel interpretation of the section in such a manner as to assume its application to offenses defined in terms of degree as well as to offenses defined in separate statutory sections.

There is no essential difference between an offense defined in terms of degree and an offense which is completely defined in one separate statutory section. An interpretation of section 1118.1 which rests upon a distinction so defined would defeat the purpose of the section, be contrary to the interests of justice, and create unnecessary constitutional problems of denial of equal protection of the laws and due process of law.

The Legislature has itself mandated, in Penal Code section 4, that:

> "All (Penal Code) provisions are to be construed according to the fair import of their terms, with a view to effect its objects to promote justice."

In a number of cases California appellate courts have reversed a finding of first degree murder and ruled that the evidence only supported a finding of second degree murder. See People v. Wolff, 61 Cal. 2d 795 (1964); People v. Cowan, 38 C.A. 2d 231 (1940); People v. Howard, 211 Cal. 322 (1930); People v. Slater, 60 C.A. 2d 358 (1943); People v. LaFleur, 42 C.A. 2d 50 (1940).

It is clear from these cases that the court has the power, indeed, the obligation, to reduce a first degree conviction to a second degree or manslaughter conviction. There is no reason why this should not be done upon a section 1118.1 motion, rather than after the jury has heard the case, and there are strong reasons--practical and logical--why section 1118.1 should be interpreted to require a judge to so rule when one or more degrees of a crime cannot be supported.

Section 1118.1 serves the following purposes: 1) to avoid the possibility of an appellate court's reversing a verdict not substantiated by the evidence; 2) to simplify the jury's task be omitting instructions that would be useless to them; 3) to save the time and cost of the court, jury, defense, and prosecution in having to present and hear, or to deliberate on, evidence that cannot possibly, as a matter of law, support a verdict; and 4) most importantly, to avoid prejudice to the defendant.

These purposes are equally served by application of the statute to degrees of crime as well as two separate offenses, and these purposes are defeated by failure to so apply the statute. Moreover, there are no disadvantages which derive from interpreting section 1118.1 to apply to degrees. Any particular crime of public offense is defined and characterized by two elements: 1) a specifically defined act committed or omitted in violation of a law forbidding or commanding it, and 2) a punishment. A degree of a crime is distinguished from other degrees of the same crime and from other offenses in the same manner. To label a certain type of proscribed conduct as a degree of a crime rather than a separate offense has no functional utility. The terms and their usage are merely results of historical accident.

In essence a degree of a crime is like a separate offense. It requires a different fact situation than other degrees of the same crime. The main distinction between different degrees and different offenses is that the latter generally are distinguished by different physical facts, such as the type of activity, the type of injury resulting, while the former, i.e., degrees, apply primarily to mental factors, such as the type of intent of the actor.

However, even these distinctions are not consistently found. Thus, the difference between first degree and second degree murder often depends on the same type of physical differences, i.e., whether the killing was done by means of poison, after lying in wait, in the perpetration of another felony, which distinguish the separate offense of manslaughter from murder (e.g., manslaughter depends on a quarrel, driving a vehicle). Similarly, the distinction between first and second degree robbery, Penal Code section 211a, resting on whether or not torture or a deadly weapon was used, is no different from the distinction between the separate offense of simple assault, defined in Penal Code section 240, and of assault with a deadly weapon, proscribed in section 245. In both cases the use of a deadly weapon distinguishes the two crimes, yet in one the difference is treated as a separate degree and in the other as a separate offense. Thus, the same kinds of issues would be taken from the jury in each circumstance.

Furthermore, there is no reason to distinguish, for purposes of directed verdicts, cases depending on mental rather than physical facts.

Also, there are separate punishments for different degrees of a crime, just as for separate offenses, and in many states they are treated in separate code sections. (See, e.g., past New York Penal Law, sections 1044 and 1046 and current sections 125.15 and 125.20.)

Prior to 1958, California courts made a distinction between degrees of offenses and offenses for the purposes of double jeopardy. Thus, in cases of a crime divided into degrees, a conviction of a lower degree was held not to operate as an acquittal of the higher degree. Thus, prior to 1958, a defendant charged with murder and convicted of manslaughter could not be retried for murder if the initial conviction were reversed; but if he were charged with first degree murder and convicted of second degree murder, he could be retried for first degree murder.

In Gomez v. Superior Court, 50 Cal. 2d 640 (1958), the court rejected this distinction as "unsound" and held that a defendant charged with grand theft and convicted of petty theft could not be retried for grand theft. The court stated (at 653):

> "It is our opinion that there is no sound basis for the distinction heretofore drawn by the courts of this state insofar as lesser included offenses and degree crimes are concerned....'
> "(O)ur constitutional provisions and statutes certainly do not require one to be drawn." 50 Cal. 2d 644.

The court went on to state that, "The elements necessary for first degree murder differ from those of second degree murder in much the same way," (at page 645), thus indicating the degree-offense distinctions were not abolished solely with respect to theft but for all criminal conduct.

Other jurisdictions have reached the same conclusion. See State v. Williams, 30 N.J. 105, 152A. 2d 9 (1959), where the court held that a defendant convicted of second degree murder could not be retried for first degree murder:

> "The state argues that the indictment here was for murder; that the offense charged was murder, and that the conviction was for murder. It says further, that the specification of degrees in the statute does not alter the unitary character of the offense because the degrees relate only to the matter of punishment. We cannot agree. Not only is the punishment radically different depending upon the degree of murder found, but guilt of first degree murder requires higher and more grievous elements of criminality than is the case with homicide of the lesser degree. For purposes of the defense of double jeopardy, it seems manifest that the second degree murder must be deemed a lesser included offense." 152 A. 2d at 16.

In both Gomez and Williams, the courts were interpreting double jeopardy provisions of the state constitutions that spoke in terms of offenses, with no reference to degrees.

California courts have consistently held that when there is evidence to support either a greater or lesser charge, the failure to instruct the jury on the lesser charge constitutes reversible error. See, e.g., People v. Morrison, 228 C.A. 2d 707 (1964);

In such cases the courts have treated degrees of a crime and separate, lesser included offenses as interchangeable for purposes of requiring that the lesser charge be given, thus treating an offense defined by degree and an offense defined in a separate section or statute as functionally synonymous.

In People v. Dewberry, 51 Cal. 2d 548, 555 (1959), the court said:

> "The question presented is whether the words 'offense' and 'degrees' refer only to the specifically defined degrees of a single offense, or refer to all the degrees of criminality that may be involved in a criminal act. Thus, an unlawful killing may involve not only the two degrees of murder, but also the included offense of manslaughter. There is no reason for not applying the general principle of reasonable doubt to both situations. Given the overriding basic principle of reasonable doubt, the admonition that the Penal Code is to be interpreted 'with a view to effect its objects and to promote justice' (Pen. Code, *4), and the anomaly that would otherwise result, we conclude that the words 'offense' and 'degrees' in section 1097 refer to all the degrees of criminality involved in a criminal act."

Thus, Dewberry explicitly reiterated that "offense" and "degree" are not terms of art with special, distinct meanings, but rather, that when there is no functional distinction between the two terms, they should be treated as synonymous. See also, People v. Carroll, 20 C.A. 41 (1912).

2. THE EVIDENCE BEFORE THE TRIAL COURT WAS INSUFFICIENT AS A MATTER OF LAW TO SUSTAIN CONVICTION FOR FIRST DEGREE MURDER ON APPEAL.

At the close of the prosecution's case, the evidence before the trial court was totally insufficient to sustain conviction for first degree murder. Only by piling inference on inference was the evidence even arguably sufficient to sustain conviction for second degree murder. When the motion for judgment of acquittal was renewed at the close of the defense case (R.T. 3505),



neither degree of murder was established as a matter of law, nor could conviction have been sustained on appeal.

The most damaging testimony against the defendant was offered by Officer Heanes and the witness Grier. Both of these witnesses claimed to have seen the defendant walk in the custody of the deceased Officer Frey, then suddenly whirl around. Grier claims to have seen the defendant pull out a gun and shoot. Heanes never saw a gun in the defendant's hand.

Viewing the prosecution's evidence and the reasonable inferences which may be drawn from it most favorably to the prosecution, and assigning, arguendo, credibility to Grier's identification of the defendant, there was, at most, testimony that the defendnat, calmly walking in the custody of Frey, suddenly turned around, produced a gun, shot not at Frey but behind him in the direction of Heanes. Then, later, after a struggle, defendant, according to prosecution testimony, shot at the falling body of Frey, but only after Heanes admittedly aimed and shot at the defendant's midsection. This evidence can support neither a first degree nor second degree murder conviction.

The provocation offered by Frey in stopping and detaining defendant's verhicle for a lengthy time, without any cause other than its identification as a Black Panther vehicle, was indisputed. (49) In the prosecution's case here, there was no evidence whatsoever as to intent, premeditation, deliberation or malice. Deliberation and premeditation may not be inferred nor presumed from the fact of a killing. People v. Eggers, 30 Cal. 2d 676 (1947).

FOOTNOTE

49. In closing argument, the prosecutor stated: "There is a reason to stop that car. Where is the reason? He doesn't have a driver's license with him, but he does have a gun." (R.T. 3684)

END FOOTNOTE

Even proof of malicious intent without further proof that the defendant acted with wilful, deliberate and premeditated intent would establish only second degree murder. People v. Holt, 25 Cal. 2d 59 (1944). In Holt, the court found the following facts inconsistent with a deliberate, premeditated and clear intent to take life, although defendant had been convicted in the trial court of first degree murder: Defendant had shown his dislike for the deceased before their final encounter in a railroad car. There, as the deceased was advancing toward the defendant, the latter fired one shot apparently not aimed at and which did not strike the deceased; then defendant shouted a warning not to come closer or he would kill the deceased. Finally as the deceased continued to advance, defendant fired again.

In People v. Wolff, supra, the court held that the evidence failed to support the finding that matricide by a fifteen-year-old defendant with a history of mental

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11

HUEY'S APPEAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

illness was first degree murder. The defendant had secured an axe handle several days before he attacked and killed his mother with it. He had brought out the instrument on a prior occasion in order to kill his mother, but put it away, then one morning at breakfast, after a prolonged struggle, he did kill her with it. The court held that the criterion differentiating the two degrees of murder was not the intent to kill, but the mental infirmity of defendant with respect to the "quantum of his personal turpitude and depravity as inherently related to the degree of murder." (61 Cal., 2d at 821) The court set a new standard for measuring the quantum of premeditation and deliberation required for first degree murder. The test of the "extent of the reflection" was held to require consideration of the extent to which the defendant could "maturely and meaningfully reflect upon the gravity of his contemplated act." (Id.). (Emphasus omitted.)

In the instant case, even prior to defendant's testimony, during presentation of the defense case, as to his state of mind and physical condition at the time he was alleged by Grier to have fired the shots which killed Frey, there was no evidence whatsoever to establish "mature and meaningful reflection" or any reflection at all on defendant's part. Heanes testified that he fired once directly at defendant's midsection (two bullets were found to have been expended from Heanes' gun) prior to the struggle described by both Heanes and Grier which occurred between Frey and his assailant prior to the shooting of Frey.

The trial court gave one of the Wells-Gorshen capacity instructions on the basis of the defendant's testimony as to his physical state and loss of consciousness after being shot in the stomach. The manslaughter verdict here can be understood only as (1) a compromise verdict with no logic or relation to the evidence; (2) a finding that Frey provoked the defendant to the extent that the reasonable man in defendant's circumstances, facing that provocation and acting as defendant was found by the verdict to have acted, could not be found guilty of first or second degree murder (3) diminished capacity of defendant. On the basis of the evidence in this case, the diminished capacity could have resulted only from the defendant's physical state with the bullet in his stomach.

At the close of the prosecution's case, the facts as to the hole in defendant's stomach, his urgently excited, peculiar, hysterical behavior, and his physical condition when he arrived at Kaiser Hospital, were in evidence. (See testimony of prosecution witnesses Corinne Leonard, admitting nurse at Kaiser Hospital (R.T. 2405), and of Dr. Thomas Finch, treating physician (R.T. 2361).) Thus the basis for a Wolff-diminished capacity reduction from first to second degree murder was clearly established at the close of the prosecution's case when the motion for judgment of acquittal was first made. At the close of the defendant's case, when the motion was renewed, there was no possible justification for submitting the first degree murder charge to the jury, nor could a first degree conviction have been sustained on appeal, because there was a complete absence of evidence as to any reflection, much less "mature and meaningful reflection," and uncontradicted evidence as to a physical state completely ruling out "mature and meaningful reflection."

The state of the evidence as to premeditation and deliberation was the same; that is, there was a complete absence of evidence as to premeditation and deliberation in the pertinent period or at all.

In People v. Anderson, 70 A.C. 58 (1968) the defendant killed a ten-year-old school girl over a one-to-two hour period in a particularly brutal knifing. Reducing conviction of first degree murder to that of second degree, the California Supreme Court again set forth criteria for the type of evidence sufficient to sustain a finding of premeditation and deliberation. The court's analysis established three categories (at 69-70):

> "(1) (F) acts about how and what defendant did prior to the actual killing which show that the defendant was engaged in activity directed toward, and explicable as intended to result in, the killing--what may be characterized as 'planning' activity; (2) facts about the defendant's prior relationship and/or conduct with the victim from which the jury could reasonably infer a 'motive' to kill the victim, which inference of motive, together with facts of type (1) or (3), would in turn support an inference that the killing was the result of 'a pre-existing reflection' and 'careful thought and weighing of considerations' rather than 'mere unconsidered or rash impulse hastily executed' (People v. Thomas, supra, 25 Cal. 2d 880, at pp. 898, 900, 901); (3) facts about the nature of the killing from which the jury could infer that the manner of killing was so particular and exacting that the defendant must have intentionally killed according to a 'preconceived design' to take his victim's life in a particular way for a 'reason' which the jury can reasonably infer from facts of type (1) or (2)." (Emphasis the court's.)

The court then held, Tobriner, J., that finding of premeditation and deliberation could not be sustained in the absence of any evidence of defendant's action prior to the killing and in the lack of motive or reason from which the jury could reasonably infer that defendant intended to kill his victim. (50)

FOOTNOTE

50. And see, also, Hemphill v. United States, 402 F. 2d 187 (D. C. Cir. 1968), where the court held that when evidence of motive was circumstantial and as consistent with impulsive and senseless frenzy as with premeditation, and whee no evidence was given on the highly significant issue of whether or not appellant had the murder weapon when he entered the scene of the crime, the jury could not find premeditation solely from the fact that appellant had time to premeditate.

END FOOTNOTE

The defendant herein, according to the prosecution testimony, identified himself immediately to Officer Heanes and sat in the car until arrested and ordered out by Frey, then calmly walked in the custody of Frey until the alleged sudden whirling around. There is nothing in this evidence from which a motive to kill could reasonably be inferred.

The production of minute fragments of marihuana (so small they could not even be weighed by the chemist) and of two matchboxes, without fingerprints thereon, from a paper bag never produced but allegedly found by police in a car not owned by defendant, and the fact that although defendant believed, and his probation officer told him (R.T. 2618), his probation terminated October 27 (before this incident), it formally did not terminate until October 28 (the next day), cannot possibly establish, by any reasonable inference, that defendant intended to kill John Frey.

To constitute first degree murder, the homicide must be a wilful act characterized by the presence of malice aforethought and by a deliberate and premeditated intent to kill. Under the line of cases commencing with People v. Thomas, 21 Cal. 2d 880 (1945), (51) and continuing through Holt, Wolff, and Anderson, supra, the evidence against defendant herein simply cannot and could not sustain a first degree murder conviction under California law.

At the time the defendant renewed the motion for judgment of acquittal at the close of the defense case (R.T. 3505), the defendant's own uncontroverted testimony concerning Frey's provocation--by words and blows, and his loss of consciousness following the sensation of being shot in the stomach--requiring granting of the motion for acquittal, not simply of first degree murder, but of the offense of murder. Malice, a required element of second as well as of first degree murder, cannot be inferred unless there is a total absence of provocation. (52) There was no evidence of malice and there was uncontroverted evidence of provocation.

FOOTNOTES

51. In Thomas, the defendant and deceased had been living together for several years when defendant became suspicious that deceased was cheating on him with other men. The defendant caught her leaving for a bar one morning and, after a heated argument, killed her. The court found conflicting evidence, some showing premeditation and deliberation and some showing of provocation and hot anger.

In modifying the first degree conviction to second degree, the court discussed the standards for finding a first degree conviction (at 900):

> "By conjoining the words 'wilful, deliberate, and premediated' in its definition and limitation of the character of killings falling within murder of the first degree the Legislature apparently emphasized its intention to require as an element of such crime substantially more reflection than may be involved in the mere formation of a specific intent to kill."

52. See prosecutor's closing argument at R.T. 3527: "(W)e say that if malice does not exist on the part of the frame of mind of the person who takes another's life we call that manslaughter." And see People v. Elmore, 167 Cal. 204 (1914); People v. Bridgehouse, 47 Cal. 2d 406 (1956); People v. Slater, 60 C.A. 2d 358 (1943); and see, further, Witkin, California Crimes, section 331, page 303.

END FOOTNOTES

SEIZE THE TIME

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1969

What is there to talk about? Its been three years now since Huey Newton founded the Black Panther Party and many things have happened.

In the past three years many of the things that have happened here in Babylon (America) have been the routine fluctuations of a decadent, racist, capitalist society. These routine happenings have been punctuated by some events that are not so routine but yet are the natural products of a cesspool society.

On the other hand, Huey Newton has been shot and jailed and Black and White communities have responded with indignation, rage, shock, rallies, funds, and demonstrations. Meanwhile, in the mother country, mini-skirts got shorter, and hair got longer. In the colony the quality of red-devils went down and the price of weed went up.

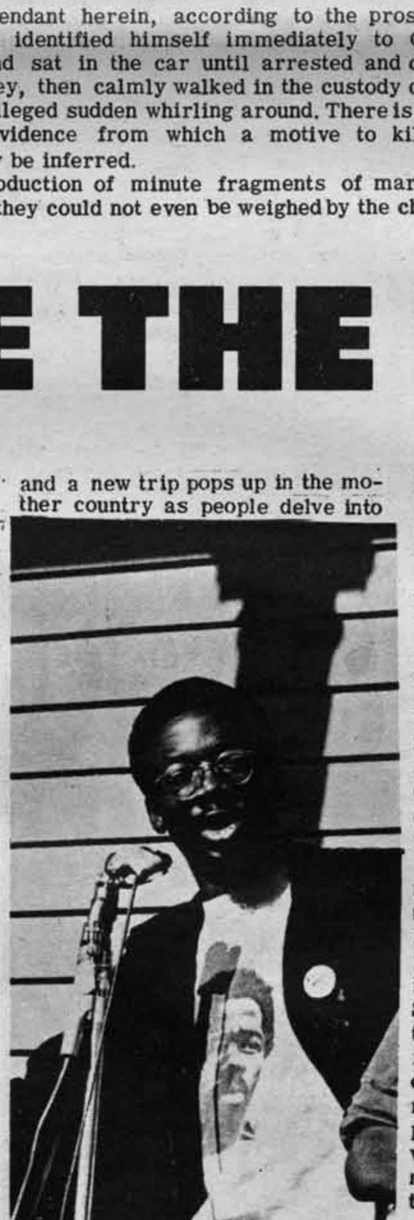
Little Bobby Hutton, the first to join, became the first to die. the Black Community was indignant, the liberal White Community was shocked. The community again responds with demonstrations and funds. During this time the pigs have stepped up their attacks against the Party, and the Party has grown. In the mother country the "hippies" have turned to "yippies," and the "liberals" have become "radicals". The Black Colony is filled with "blippies" (Black hippies) in Afro-garb, Swahili names, and cultural fixations.

Eldridge Cleaver was wounded when Li'l Bobby was murdered, then jailed and beaten. In the mother country people were devoting their lives to "rock music" and "light-shows" "Underground" papers were springing up everywhere with politics and pulchritude on the front page and want ads for the hard-up as a filler. People were "doing their thing" and finding themselves". The Black Colony was seething with talk of guerrilla warfare, and saturated with proverty programs. In the Black Colonies the "advances" made by the psychedelic Whites have produced many new "cheap highs."

Eldridge Cleaver chooses self-exile rather than a return to prison and sure death. A few are concerened and many are still "doing their thing". The repression on the Party increases again and niggers in the colony sing of "cloud nine" while White boys in Babylon build bigger and better ampligiers for guitars.

Charles Bursey and Warren Wells become political prisoners as a result of the April 6th shoot-out. Bunchy Carter and John Huggins have already been buried. Mother country radicals engage in heated idiological debates, they champion the cause of the Vietnamese Freedom Fighters, and squeeze more politics into their "Underground" papers. In the Colonies "Black militants" scream for Afro-American Studies and hope for the promised Black Capitalism.

A wave of raids, shoot-outs, and frame-ups has swept the nation with Panthers as the main target. White James Rector, a bystander, is killed in the struggle at Peoples' Park. Two more Panthers are killed by "niggers" just trying to be "Black". Rock-light shows become bigger and better, and a new trip pops up in the mother country as people delve into



'MASAI' HEWITT, MIN. OF EDUCATION, B.P.P.

the occult for solutions to problems. Meanwhile in the colony young, would be pimps, drive Volkswagons as they dream of Eldorados, and the quality drops on the Bennies.

The Black Panther Party weathers the storm, purges its ranks, and grows nationally and internationally. The Black Panther Party calls for a United Front Against Fascism, and the fascist repression intensifies. Chicago, two raids, a couple of shoot-outs many frame-ups; New York frame-ups (14 in jail, many others underground -- two million dollars in ransom).

Chairman Bobby Seale is kidnapped by F.B.I. pigs in the final attempt to finish the Black Panther Party. The use of a Black pig agent in the frame-up catches many people by surprise, but Mod-Squad is still a popular show in the colony. The Berkeley Tribe reveals a Berkeley plot to finish off the rest of the Central Committee and Central Staff. The pig media blocks it from public view, while the "Underground" newspapers that comment on it treat it as the story of a near-serious auto accident.

This has been a quick run-down on the three years that the Black Panther Party has existed/survived. Most of the details, and much of the repression has necessarily been omitted. This brings us to the present.

With Bobby in jail facing a multitude of phony charges in New Haven and Chicago, the man most wanted by the powers' that run this country is Chief of Staff, David Hilliard. In the near future the pigs will attempt to jail and/or kill David Hilliard. The Chief of Staff will be tried for a second time on charges stemming from the April 6th shoot-out. (His first trial on these charges of attempted murder resulted in a dismissal, but the D.A. appealed the dismissal).

As yet another leader of the people stands between the people and the wrath of the fascist power structure. How much more apathy shall we witness from the "militants", radicals", and "revolutionaries". How much psychedellic escapeism, idealistic-tripping, greedy political scheming, and opportunism shall we witness.

Perhaps there are groups waiting eagerly to wear the mantle of the "New Vanguard". Maybe their are those that feel their ideological - rhetorical well - being threatened and see the fascist pigs as saviours. The cases of David Hilliard and Bobby Seale will tell. It's hard to see who's for real just by coming to funerals. The Party has had over twenty funerals with thousands of mourners but that entails no commitment, not like a gun or a petition, and not like a gun and a petition.

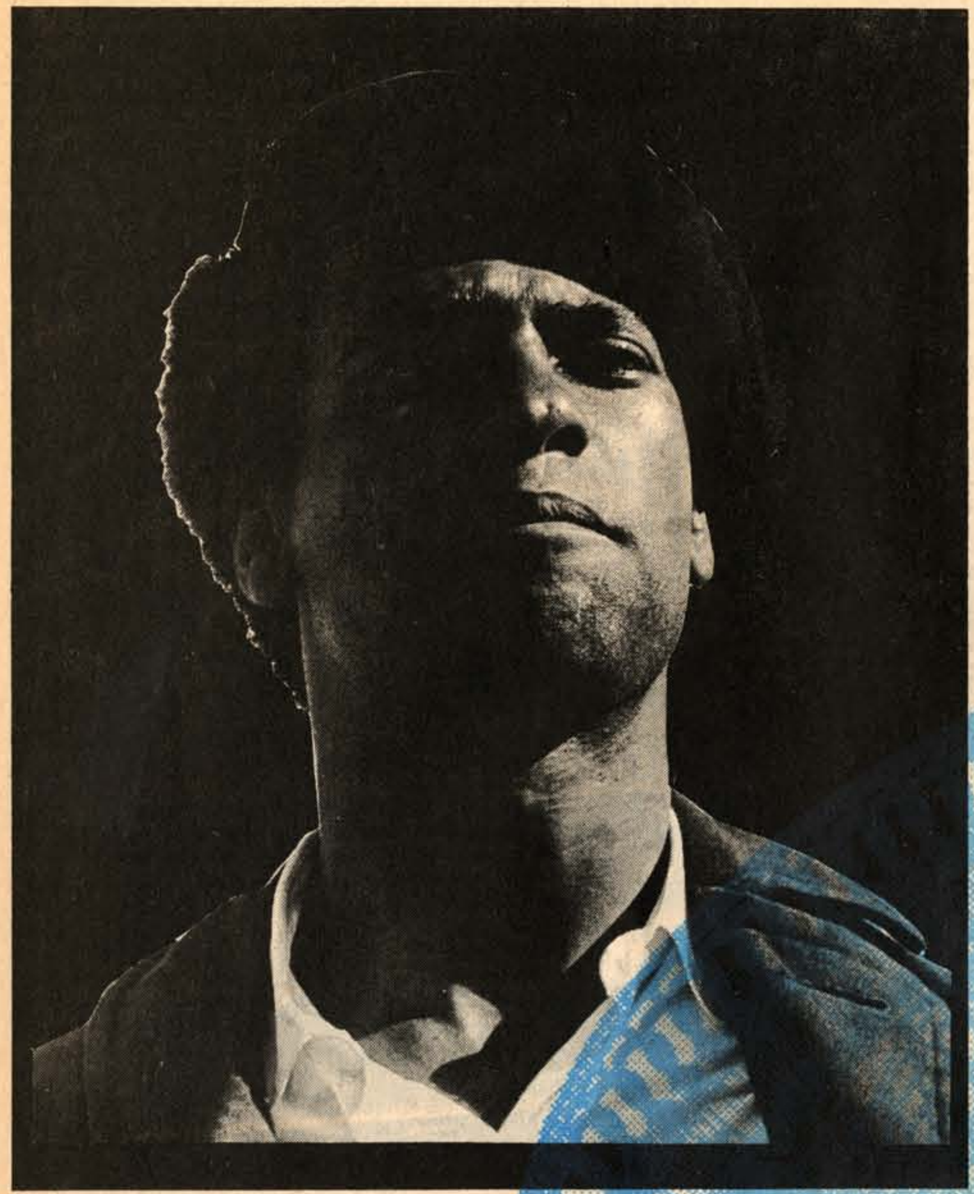
So what's there to talk about?

"SEIZE THE TIME"

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Ray "Masai" Hewitt
Minister of Education of the B.P.P.

THE GENIUS OF HUEY P. NEWTON



IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

In response to the Mulford Gun Bill, Minister of Defense Huey Newton wrote a statement which Panther Chairman Bobby Seale delivered on the steps of the capitol in Sacramento on May 2, 1967. The statement is as follows:

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense calls upon the American people in general and the Black people in particular to take careful note of the racist California Legislature, which is now considering legislation aimed at keeping the Black people disarmed and powerless at the very same time that racist police agencies throughout the country are intensifying the terror, brutality, murder and repression of Black people.

At the same time that the American government is waging a racist war of genocide in Vietnam, the concentration camps in which Japanese Americns were interned during World War II are being renovated and expanded. Since America has historically reserved the most barbaric treatment for non-White people, we are forced to conclude that these concentration camps are being prepared for Black people, who are determined to gain their freedom by any means necessary. The enslavement of Black people from the very beginning of this country, the genocide practiced on the American Indians and the confining of the survivors on reservations, the savage lynching of thousands of Black men and women, the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and now the cowardly massacre in Vietnam, all testify to the fact that towards people of color the racist power structure of America has but one policy: repression, genocide, terror and the big stick.

Black people have begged prayed, petitioned, demonstrated and everything else to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hyprocrisy. As the aggression of the racist American government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalate the repression of Black people throughout the ghettos of America. Vicious police dogs, cattle prods and increased patrols have become familiar sights in Black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of Black people for relief from this increasing terror.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford Act brings the hour of doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society, must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction.

THE CORRECT HANDLING OF A REVOLUTION

Most human behavior is learned behavior. Most things the human being learns are gained through an indirect relationship to the object. Humans do not act from instinct as lower animals do. Those things learned indirectly many times stimulate very effective responses to what might be later a direct experience. At this time the black masses are handling the resistance incorrectly. The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by amassing the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption. The brothers and sisters in the streets were herded into a small area by the gestapo police and immediately contained by the brutal violence of the oppressor's storm troops. This manner of resistance is sporadic, short-lived, and costly in violence against the people. This method has been transmitted to all the ghettos of the black nation across the country. The first man who threw a molotov cocktail is not personally known by the masses, but yet the action was respected and followed by the people.

The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably be gained secondhand by the masses just as the above mentioned was gained indirectly. When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going into the streets in large numbers, and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerrilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example.

But first, they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four,

through observation, and through actual experience. The black community is basically composed of activists. The community learns through activity, either through observation of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore it is very significant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the black revolution in racist America.

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is prepared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the black community, the black population.

If it is learned by the power structure that black people have "x" amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to prepare itself with guns, because it is already more than prepared.

The result of this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party machinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party ma-

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational processes. How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above ground as long as the dog power structure will allow, and hopefully when the party is forced to go underground the message of the party will already have been put across to the people. The vanguard party's activities on the surface will necessarily be shortlived.

This is why it is so important that the party make a tremendous impact upon the people before it is driven into secrecy.

At this time, the people know the party exists, and they will seek out further information on the activities of this underground party.

Many would-be revolutionaries work under the fallacious illusion that the vanguard party is to be a secret organization that the power structure knows nothing about, and the masses know nothing about, except for occasional letters that come to their homes by night. Underground parties cannot distribute leaflets announcing an underground meeting. These are contradictions and inconsistencies of the so-called revolutionaries. The so-called revolutionaries are in fact afraid of the very danger that they are advocating for the people. These so-called revolutionaries want the people to say what they themselves are afraid to say, and the people to do what they themselves are afraid to do. This makes the so-called revolutionary a coward and a hypocrite.

If these imposters would investigate the history of revolution, they would see that the vanguard group always starts out above ground and is later driven underground by the aggressor. The Cuban Revolution exemplifies this fact; when Fidel Castro started to resist the butcher Batista and the American running dogs, he started by speaking on the campus of the University of Havana in public. He was later

minent due to the fact that the things he is saying and doing are extremely dangerous . Without this realization, it is impossible to proceed as a revolutionary. The masses are constantly looking for a guide, a Messiah, to liberate them from the hands of the oppressor. The vanguard party must exemplify the characteristics of worthy leadership. Millions and millions of oppressed people might not know members of the vanguard party personally or directly, but they will gain through an indirect acquaintance the proper strategy for liberation via the mass media and the physical activities of the party.

It is of prime importance that the vanguard party develop a political organ, such as a newspaper produced by the party, as well as employ strategically revolutionary art and destruction of the oppressor's machinery. For example, Watts. The economy and property of the oppressor was destroyed to such an extent that no matter how the oppressor tried to whitewash the activities of the black brothers, the real nature and the real cause of the activity was communicated to every black community. For further example, no matter how the oppressor tries to distort and confuse the message of Brother Malcolm X, Black people all over the country understand it perfectly and welcome it.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense teaches that in the final analysis, the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as hand grenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure, as exemplified by the Viet Cong. Therefore, the greater the military preparation on the part of the oppressor, the greater is the availability of weapons for the black community. It is believed by some hypocrites that when the people are taught by the vanguard group to prepare for resistance, this only brings the man down on them with increasing violence and brutality; but the fact of the matter is that when the man

when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerrilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example.

But first, they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million Black people in primary groups of two's and three's but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution. During slavery, in which no vanguard party existed and forms of communication were severely restricted and insufficient, many slave revolts occurred.

There are basically three ways one can learn: through study,

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party machinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of a vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.

If these imposters would investigate the history of revolution, they would see that the vanguard group always starts out above ground and is later driven underground by the aggressor. The Cuban Revolution exemplifies this fact; when Fidel Castro started to resist the butcher Batista and the American running dogs, he started by speaking on the campus of the University of Havana in public. He was later driven to the hills. His impact upon the dispossessed people of Cuba was very great and received with much respect. When he went into secrecy, Cuban people searched him out. People went to the hills to find him and his band of twelve. Castro handled the revolutionary struggle correctly. If the Chinese Revolution is investigated, it will be seen that the Communist Party was quiet on the surface so that they would be able to muster support from the masses. There are many areas one can read about to learn the correct approach, such as the revolution in Kenya, the Algerian Revolution, Fanon's THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH, the Russian Revolution, the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and a host of others.

A revolutionary must realize that if he is sincere, death is im-

...weapons from the power structure, as exemplified by the Viet Cong. Therefore, the greater the military preparation on the part of the oppressor, the greater is the availability of weapons for the black community. It is believed by some hypocrites that when the people are taught by the vanguard group to prepare for resistance, this only brings the man down on them with increasing violence and brutality; but the fact of the matter is that when the man becomes more oppressive, this only heightens the revolutionary fervor. The people never make revolution. The oppressors by their brutal actions cause the resistance by the people. The Vanguard Party only teaches the correct methods of resistance. So, if things can get worse for oppressed people, then they will feel no need for revolution or resistance. The complaint of the hypocrites that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is exposing the people to deeper suffering is an incorrect observation. People have proved that they will not tolerate any more oppression by the racist dog police through their rebellions in the black communities across the country. The people are looking now for guidance to extend and strengthen their resistance struggle.

FUNCTIONAL DEFINITION OF POLITICS

Politics is war without bloodshed. War is politics with bloodshed. Politics has its particular characteristics which differentiate it from war. When the peaceful means of politics are exhausted and the people do not get what they want, politics are continued. Usually it ends up in physical conflict which is called war, which is also political.

Because we lack political power, Black people are not free. Black reconstruction failed because Black people did not have political and military power. The masses of Black people at the time were very clear on the definition of political power. It was evident in the songs of Black people at that time. In the songs it was stated that on the Day of Jubilee we'd have forty acres and two mules. This was promised Black people by the Freedman's Bureau. This was freedom as far as the Black masses were concerned.

The Talented Tenth at the time viewed freedom as operative in the political arena. Black people did operate in the political arena during reconstruction. They were more educated than most of the whites in the south. They had been educated in France, Canada and England and were very qualified to serve in the political arena. But yet, Black Reconstruction failed.

When one operates in the political arena, it is assumed that he has power or represents power; he is symbolic of a powerful force. There are approximately three areas of power in the political arena: economic power, land power (feudal power) and military power. If Black people at the time had received 40 acres and 2 mules, we would have developed a powerful force. Then we would have chosen a representative to represent us in this political arena. Because Black people did not receive the 40 acres and 2 mules, it was absurd to have a representative in the political arena.

When White people send a representative into the political arena, they have a power force or power base that they represent. When White people, through their representatives, do not get what they want, there is always a political consequence. This is evident in the fact that when the farmers are not given an adequate price for their crops the economy will receive a political consequence. They will let their crops rot in the field; they will not cooperate with other sectors of the economy. To be political, you must have a political consequence when you do not receive your desires--otherwise you are non-political.

When Black people send a representative, he is somewhat absurd because he represents no political power. He does not represent land power because we do not own any land. He does not represent economic or industrial power because Black people do not own the means of production. The only way he can become political is to represent what is commonly called a military power--which the BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE calls Self-Defense Power. Black people can develop Self-Defense Power by arming themselves from house to house, block to block, community to community, throughout the nation. Then we will choose a political representative and he will state to the power structure the desires of the Black masses. If the desires are not met, the power structure will receive a political consequence. We will make it economically non-profitable for the power structure to go on with its oppressive ways. We will then negotiate as equals. There will be a balance between the people who are economically powerful and the people who are potentially economically destructive.

The White racist oppresses Black people not only for racist reasons, but because it is also economically profitable to do so. Black people must develop a power that will make it non-profitable for racists to go on oppressing us. If the White racist imperialists in America continue to wage war against all people of color throughout the world and also wage a civil war against Blacks here in America, it will be economically impossible for him to survive. We must develop a strategy that will make his war campaigns non-profitable. This racist United States operates with the motive of profit. He lifts the gun and escalates the war for profit reasons. We will make him lower the guns because they will no longer serve his profit motive.

Every man is born, therefore he has a right to live, a right to share in the wealth. If he is denied the right to work, then he is denied the right to live. If he can't work, he deserves a high standard of living, regardless of his education or skill. It should be up to the administrators of the economic system to design a program for providing work or livelihood for his people. To deny a man this is to deny him life. The controllers of the economic system are obligated to furnish each man with a livelihood. If they cannot do this or if they will not do this, they do not deserve the position of administrators. The means of production should be taken away from them and placed in the people's hands, so that the people can organize them in such a way as to provide themselves with a livelihood. The people will choose capable administrators, motivated by their sincere interest in the people's welfare and not the interest of private property. The people will choose managers to control the means of production and the land that is rightfully theirs. Until the people control the land and the means of production, there will be no peace. Black people must control the destiny of their community.

Because Black people desire to determine their own destiny, they are constantly inflicted with brutality from the occupying army, embodied in the police department. There is a great similarity between the occupying army in Southeast Asia and the occupation of our communities by the racist police. The armies are there not to protect the people of South Vietnam, but to brutalize and oppress them for the interests of the selfish imperial power.

The police should be the people of the community in uniform. There should be no division or conflict of interest between the people and the police. Once there is a division, then the police become the enemy of the people. The police should serve the interest of the people and be one and the same. When this principle breaks down, then the police become an occupying army. When historically one race has oppressed another and policemen are recruited from the oppressor race to patrol the communities of the oppressed people, an intolerable contradiction exists.

THE RACIST DOG POLICEMEN MUST WITHDRAW IMMEDIATELY FROM OUR COMMUNITIES, CEASE THEIR WANTON MURDER AND BRUTALITY AND TORTURE OF BLACK PEOPLE, OR FACE THE WRATH OF THE ARMED PEOPLE.

PRISON, WHERE IS THY VICTORY?

When a person studies mathematics, he learns that there are many mathematical laws which determine the approach he must take to solving the problems presented to him. In the study of geometry, one of the first laws a person learns is that "the whole is not greater than the sum of its parts". This means simply that one cannot have a geometrical figure such as a circle or a square which in its totality, contains more than it does when broken down into smaller parts. Therefore, if all the smaller parts add up to a certain amount, the entire figure cannot add up to a larger amount. The prison cannot have a victory over the prisoner, because those in charge take the same kind of approach to the prisoner and assume if they have the whole body in a cell that they have there all that makes up the person. But a prisoner is not a geometrical figure, and an approach which is successful in mathematics, is wholly unsuccessful when dealing with human beings.

In the case of the human, we are not dealing only with the single individual, we are also dealing with the ideas and beliefs which have motivated him and which sustain him, even when his body is confined. In the case of humanity the whole is much greater than its parts, because the whole includes the body which is measurable and confineable, and also the ideas which cannot be measured and which cannot be confined. The ideas are not only within the mind of the prisoner where they cannot be seen nor controlled, the ideas are also within the people. The ideas which can and will sustain our movement for total freedom and dignity of the people, cannot be imprisoned, for they are to be found in the people, all the people, wherever they are. As long as the people live by the ideas of freedom and dignity there will be no prison which can hold our movement down. Ideas move from one person to another in the association of brothers and sisters who recognize that a most evil system of capitalism has set us against each other, when our real enemy is the exploiter who profits from our poverty. When we realize such an idea then we come to love and appreciate our brothers and sisters who we may have seen as enemies, and those expoliters who we may have seen as friends are revealed for what they truly are to all oppressed people. The people are the idea; the respect and dignity of the people, as they move toward their freedom is the sustaining force which reaches into and out of the prison. The walls, the bars, the guns and the guards can never encircle or hold down the idea of the people. And the people must always carry forward the idea which is their dignity and their beauty.

The prison operates with the idea that when it has a person's body it has his entire being--since the whole cannot be greater than the sum of its parts. They put the body in a cell, and seem to get some sense of relief and security from that fact. The idea of prison victory then, is that when the person in jail begins to act, think, and believe the way they want him to, then they have won the battle and the person is then "rehabilitated". But this cannot be the case, because those who operate the prisons, have failed to examine their own beliefs thoroughly, and they fail to understand the types of people they attempt to control. Therefore, even when the prison thinks it has won the victory, there is no victory.

There are two types of prisoners. The largest number are those who accept the legitimacy of the assumptions upon which the society is based. They wish to acquire the same goals as everybody else, money, power, greed, and conspicuous consumption. In order to do so, however, they adopt techniques and methods which the society has defined as illegitimate. When this is discovered such people are put in jail. They may be called "illegitimate capitalists" since their aim is to acquire everything this capitalistic society defines as legitimate. The second type of prisoner, is the one who rejects the legitimacy of the assumptions upon which the society is based. He argues that the people at the bottom of the society are exploited for the profit and advantage of those at the top. Thus, the oppressed exist, and will always be used to maintain the privileged status of the exploiters. There is no sacredness, there is no dignity in either exploiting or being exploited. Although this system may make the society function at a high level of technological efficiency, it is an illegitimate system, since it rests upon the suffering of humans who are as worthy and as dignified as those who do not suffer. Thus, the second type of prisoner says that the society is corrupt and illegitimate and must be overthrown. This second type of prisoner is the political prisoner. They do not accept the legitimacy of the society and cannot participate in its corrupting exploitation, whether they are in the prison or on the block.

The prison cannot gain a victory over either type of prisoner no matter how hard it tries. The "Illegitimate capitalist" recognizes that if he plays the game the prison wants him to play, he will have his time reduced and be released to continue his activities. Therefore, he is willing to go through the prison programs and do the things he is told. He is willing to say the things the prison authorities want to hear. The prison assumes he is "rehabilitated" and ready for the society. The prisoner has really played the prison's game so that he can be released to resume pursuit of his capitalistic goals. There is no victory, for the prisoner from the git-go accepted the idea of the society. He pretends to accept the idea of the prison as a part of the game he has always played.

The prison cannot gain a victory over the political prisoner because he has nothing to be rehabilitated from or to. He refuses to accept the legitimacy of the system and refuses to participate. To participate is to admit that the society is legitimate because of its exploitation of the oppressed. This is the idea which the political prisoner does not accept, this is the idea for which he has been imprisoned, and this is the reason why he cannot cooperate with the system. The political prisoner will, in fact, serve his time just as will the "illegitimate capitalist". Yet the idea which motivated and sustained the political prisoner rests in the people, all the prison has, is a body.

The dignity and beauty of man rests in the human spirit which makes him more than simply a physical being. This spirit must never be suppressed for exploitation by others. As long as the people recognize the beauty of their human spirits and move against suppression and exploitation, they will be carrying out one of the most beautiful ideas of all time. Because the human whole is much greater than the sum of its parts, the ideas will always be among the people. The prison cannot be victorious because walls, bars and guards cannot conquer or hold down an idea.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE:

Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

Message to All Progressive Forces

By Chairman Bobby Seale

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1969

This is Bobby Seale in the San Francisco County jail. I just arrived back here today November 10th, Monday. And there's a word to be said to the progressive forces in America, about imperialism abroad, and domestic imperialism (fascism) here at home.

It's correct that many millions of people, 55 - 60 per cent of the nation or more, are fed up with this unjust aggressive war against the Vietnamese people. It's understood that the Vietnamese people are fighting for their right to self-determination, their right to determine their own destiny in their own land, country, in their communities. It's good that progressive forces (organizations and people) can come forth and mass and demonstrate and redress their grievances against the government for waging such a war against people unjustly, not only in Vietnam, but everywhere else in the world. But its got to be understood that if there is imperialism abroad, if there is a war going on in the part of the fascist ruling class circles that are infested inside the U.S. government, if there is a war going on that they perpetrate and put together there, it must be understood that they're not waging that war for those peoples right to self - determination, that they're waging that war for some inequality and unjustness against those people. And it's evident that it is being wagedfor this reason on their part because of the fact that there is no equality and there's no justice at home for people right here in America like Black people in particular who've suffered under racism and brutality and murder for 400 years right here in America. It's evident and it's clear that if there is genocide in a country as in Germany during World War II, then anything that ruling class fascist government does outside is also unjust and is also aggression and is also out to deny and murder and kill people.

What we have to understand is that right hear at home in Ameica we have to oppose imperialism, also. That you can't just fight imperialism, the acts of imperialism aborad, without understanding and recognizing community imperialism here of Black people, Brown people, Red people and even to the point of protesting students and radicals and progressive peoples here, in America.



BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN, B.P.P., POLITICAL PRISONER

Domestic imperialism at home is in fact fascism. But what in essence is it? I think Black people if if we go over the concrete experiences that we've had in America and what's going on now against us we can understand exactly what it is--to be corralled in wretched ghettos in America and look up one day and see numerous policemen occupying our community, and brutalizing us, killing brother Linthcomb, murdering young Bobby Hutton. The fact that so much brutality goes on to the extent that all the fascist press and all the demagogic politicians say it and the only thing that the courts puts out is that it is supposedly "justifiable homicide" on the part of policemen who occupy our community.

The police state that exists here in America right now is in fact fascism right before our eyes. There are numerous examples of the police state activities. Only last week, I hear and understand, that a young Black brother was allegedly or supposedly cashing a so-called fictitious check in a bank here in San Francisco and was walking out of the bank amongst a crowd of people and this police guard runs out of the bank and he's only walking and the brother is shot dead in the mid-section of his back. He's dead and killed, Black brothers and Black people who have experienced and know these fascist tactics and know of too many cases and too many situations where young brothers and Black people have been gunned down and murdered by these cops, and it's becoming more and more out of hand. It's becoming out of hand because in every major city, in every major metropolis where Black people live police forces have been doubled, tripled and quadrupled.

Also, the racist courts of America are justifying the police brutality and murder of Black people and any people. The democratic convention as EVERYBODY knows, as everybody saw on the T.V. and read in the papers was nothing more than pigs, cops running rampant, brutalizing, murdering and bashing skulls. And many Black people looked on and said, "Look at those White people getting beaten", because we knew we had been beaten and brutalized for many years and still are.

They dragged me into this case. They put me as one of the defendants there, and they literally, overtly, fascisticly, pigishly and racistly denied me my basic constitutional rights. Charles R. Garry, the most beautiful lawyer in the world, a revolutionary lawyer, was here at home going through an operation. He's a beautiful brother. He's 60 years old and had to have an operation for his health and couldn't come to the court. Dr. Goodlet explained it to the court a month before the court even convened that Charles would be risking his life, and I made motion after motion, request after request, and argued those requests and those motions on my behalf in my attempts to defend myself there and was literally denied, (literally denied) my constitutional rights to be able to defend myself, after it was clear that my lawyer wouldn't be able to be there to assist me. For a man to stand up and demand his constitutional rights and in turn the court looks at him and denies him that is to say he's not intelligent enough to see what's going on. But in fact we Black people, we people, all people, American people, know that to deny people their constitutional rights, their right to defend themselves, their right to council, or any constitutional right is nothing more than to justify the brutal tactics, murderous fascist tactics of the police running rampant in the communities of America, and in particular the Black communities of America.

To the Peace Forces, the progressive forces in America, the protestors, those who know the war in Vietnam is unjust, those who are going to the streets and demonstrating, those who think they're really, really doing something--what they're doing in trying to end the war in Vietnam, is not meaningful at all, yet. It's not meaningful at all and will not become meaningful at all if you really want to stop the war in Vietnam, until you take some action here in America against the fascist brutal forces against Black people here in America. The very fact that the North Vietnamese government has announced that they are willing to release prisoners of war for the release and dropping of all charges and trumped-up charges against the Minister of Denfense Huey P. Newton, and myself, this should be demanded also. This is directly relating to the very fact that we have to end police brutality and murder of Black people right here at home. Because the Black Panther Party itself has moved in this direction from its very inception to get rid of those fascist forces that corral us.

This is the kind of action that has to be taken on the part of the Peace Forces in America and the progressive forces in America. And until they begin to do that they will not begin at all to stop imperialism; they will not begin at all to stop domestic imperialism right here at home. You must move against domestic imperialism, growing rampant, FASCISM--right here in America, before you can end the war in Vietnam or all forms of aggressive wars like that against other people abroad. The very fact that Black, Brown, Red and other peoples in America, and poor people, even poor White people, are corralled in wretched ghettos, especially those people of color and Black people whose communities are occupied in the fashion they are and murdered. No, we can't continue to allow ourselves to be duped with the notion that we're doing something good until we learn to smash imperialism right here at home. Because to smash imperialism right here at home is to smash imperialism abroad. Smashing imperialism means taking action, demanding that those prisoners of war be allowed to come home. When you say "Bring the GI's home", bring the GI's home. And we can bring the prisoners of war home by demanding that the U.S. government release political prisoners here in America. Beginning with Huey and me, right now in America, we will set a precedence of opposing fascism, abroad and at home. If that is what the Vietnamese people want, to release the political prisoners and people here in America, then I say that the progressive forces have to take some action in that direction and they will be relating directly to smashing imperialism at home and recognizing that this has to be done.

People move. Black brothers and sisters, American people, it's time that we moved against fascism at home because to smash fascism at home is to smash fascism for ever abroad.

ALL PEOPLE TO THE PEOPLE

COMMUNITY DISCUSSION GROUPS

WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE A MEMBER OF THE B.P.P. COME TO YOUR HOME AND DISCUSS:

1. The Ten-Point Platform and Program of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY and what it means to Black People.

2. The need for COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE.

3. The need for Black People to become REGISTERED VOTERS so they can sit on jury panels and give justice to Black People.

4. The murders of FRED HAMPTON and MARK CLARK in Chicago.

5. The many attacks on our homes and offices in L.A., CHICAGO, NEW YORK etc., and the international harrassment, repression and murders of the members of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

HOME DISCUSSION GROUPS SHOULD NUMBER AT LEAST SIX PEOPLE. APPOINTMENTS ARE AVAILABLE BETWEEN THE HOURS OF 9 a.m. & 7 p.m., SEVEN DAYS A WEEK.

CALL--
BERKELEY - 845-0103 or 0104
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ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY Nat'l Hq.
3106 SHATTUCK AVE. BERKELEY

SHACKLED LIKE A SLAVE

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY NOVEMBER 29, 1969



RORY & LANDON, SHACKLED LIKE SLAVES

With a resounding clang, the harsh piercing sound of metal ringing on metal rang in my ears. The haunting laughter of the perverted pigs who had slammed shut the flaps, closing off all outside light and ventilation, lingered with me long after they had departed. There I stood without my shoes or socks on the cold concrete floor. The pungent stench of stale urine assaulted me and stung my nose and eyes. It brought back bitter memories of passages I had read in books about the filth and squalor of the slave quarters of 17th, 18th, and 19th century AmeriKKKa. Somewhere out of the dark recesses of my head I heard a little voice saying welcome to the "hole".

I had finally made the complete rounds. There is not a place left in the Denver County Dungeon -- that is euphemistically called a jail--where I have not been and suffered persecution for retaining my political beliefs. I thought about when brother Rory and I were first kidnapped off the streets and dragged off to this evil place. My mind drifted to how we were placed in a dirty concrete cell (#4) in the "isolation" section that had a light so dim until the mere striking of a match was like the brilliance of a signal flare and we had to shield our eyes from its intense light. For 40 days, because we refused to submit to performing involuntary servitude -- in accordance with our rights under the 13th and 14th amendments to the constitution of the U.S.--and clean up the pigs funky pig pen, we were kept on a starvation diet that consisted of dry bread and water. Then when these tactics failed to break us they were changed and we began to receive food but then our mattresses and blankets were taken at 5:30 in the morning and we were left with nothing but the concrete floor or the hard cold iron bunk to sit on until 9:00 at night.

But just as one day follows another, all that had come and passed. Now here I was in the "hole," again in that dark cubicle where I was not alone. You see there are three Panthers in the Denver County Dungeon, and the ruthless "jail" administration could not, indeed did not blink their eyes until all were "safely" stored away in isolation, separated away from the other prisoners so that we could not "stir up trouble" among the other poor souls who have the misfortune to inhabit this piece of hell. One Nat Turner had been enough. The slavemasters feared a slave rebellion among the zombies who they completely control, and when the zombies dared to rise up in protest against the inhuman conditions here, Alfred, the other Panthers, and myself, found ourselves cast into the "hole". The events leading up to this step are typical of the types of brutality and arbitrariness of the so-called discipline that takes place in the Denver County Dungeon.

After four months of confinement in isolation in that dimly lit cell--during part of which we were starved, denied visits from friends or relatives, refused mail and correspondence, not allowed commissary (soap, toothpaste, etc.) were not allowed reading material of any kind and were allowed out only twice a week to shower and shave and then immediately returned to our 9' x 6' cell (less we contaminate someone with the germs of freedom and dignity)--the new keeper of the dungeon, fascist Warden William "Adolf Eichman" Nelson, who the prisoners had placed their hopes for partial relief from their suffering on, released us (Rory and myself) from "isolation" and allowed us to join the other prisoners in "population". This excursion into the ugly world of "population", however, was short lived and lasted less than a week. Hardly had Rory and I time to gain but the most perceptual knowledge of the programing, de-culturizing and dehumanizing that the savage guards exact upon the helpless prisoners, through intimidation and outright physical attacks, than we were accused of violating our visiting "privileges" and returned to isolation. Only this time Rory was returned to cell No. 4 and I was placed in what is called the "infirmary" (the Germans called the gas ovens in which 6 million Jews died--"showers").

From this point on the ghoulish mechanizations of "Adolf" Nelson and his friends began to unfold very rapidly. As I have said, there are three Panthers in this dungeon they call a jail: Rory Hithe, Alfred Hassan and myself. Alfred had been in "population" for quite sometime and had contiually resisted and spoken out against the unsanitary disease ridden conditions that abound here--the high rate of hepatitis outbreaks is a small measure of these unsavory conditions. The prisoners are forced to sleep on filthy mattresses that are caked with crud, blankets that are never changed or cleaned (Alfred had the same one for over seven months); the guards are totally unsympathetic to humanity and constantly threaten the inmates; pig slop is served and they (prison officials) have the nerve to call it food; only one 15 minute visit per week is allowed, that denies the inmates the right to see our friends and loved ones; there is a drastic lack of reading material with any social value, although sex and cowboy books abound; and numerous other injustices the prisoners are forced to endure. The overwhelming majority of these inmates I might add have not been convicted of any crime and are therefore considered to be innocent. (After witnessing this, my heart cries out in agony for those convicted and sentenced to prison).

Fascist "Adolf" Nelson and his ghoulish running dogs now sensed their chance to remove this oasis of sanity (Alfred) from the midst of this cesspool of despair. They accused Alfred of also violating his visiting "privileges" and sent him to "red tag". "Red tag" is a cell tier where prisoners are usually sent for political beliefs, the length of their hair or for refusing to be bootlicking lackeys and submit to their program of de-humanization. On "red tag" your food is pushed under your cell door to you. You only leave your cell to shower twice a week and once every 5 or 6 days to watch television. Like "isolation" and the "infirmary" there are no wholesome programs for recreation, in fact there is no recreation at all. Into this mass of human misery, this anachronistic piece of medieval barbarity, was now injected after spending one week in the "infirmary."

Soon after I arrived on "red tag" the bars were sprayed with D.D.T and less than two hours later our food, which never even arrived warm, was slid under these D.D.T infested bars for us to eat. I was in cubicle No. 15, a tiny confining concrete cubby hole 9 feet by 5 feet, our common goals and aspirations gave us a feeling of closeness not only with each other but also with Comrade Rory who we knew was undergoing similar treatment in the corner of the jail known as "isolation". Every night we would discuss politics and our people's (all the people's) liberation struggle. I had been on "red tag" about three days and Alfred about one and a half weeks when a list of grievances and demands were circulated for the approval and endorsement of the inmates on the tier. This was a very beautiful and inspiring sight, the zombies who had submitted for so long were beginning to awaken. Their in-humane, de-humanizing conditions had sparked their will to resist. This petition called for clean mattresses and blankets, hot food, daily showers, wholesome recreation and the repair of the radio speaker. Alfred and I, along with fourteen other inmates signed it. The petition was then placed in a sealed envelope and sent to the keeper of the dungeon "Adolf" Nelson. The next day brought even more glorious news, for another petition appeared. This one signed by over 150 people throughout the entire building. Indeed these prisoners who had suffered "peacefully" for so long in silence had begun to stand up, raise their voices and demand better treatment. We all signed this petition and "red tag" buzzed with excitement and expectation--for in unity there is strength and the inmates were united together. One day passed and the petition went unheeded and unanswered. Then two days passed with still no reply--the keeper of the dungeon "Adolf" Nelson had decided to ignore the petitions completely. On the 3rd day the prisoners took dramatic action, everyone on "red tag" threw their trays over the tier onto the floor at breakfast and lunch, 180 prisoners from the building refused to leave the chow hall and Warden "Adolf" Nelson was roused from his down-filled bed and called to the Denver County Dungeon. "Adolf" Nelson felt he now had the excuse to fulfill his ghoulish plan. Alfred and I were accused of being the ringleaders and were cast into the abyss they call "the hole". The ogre now had all three Panthers in 'isolation', away from his once complacent slaves. But the word had gotten out and the parasitic press decended on the dungeon. In the stories that appeared in the Denver press, no mention was made of the petitions from buildings six and eight, that were signed by over 300 inmates--Black, White, Brown and Red--brothers all, in this common hell hole. In the distorted press the demands were attributed to the Black Panther Party instead of to the inmates from whom they originated--as if the prisoners were unable to speak on their own--and Alfred and I were again pegged as the "ringleaders". Regardless of the calm reassuring statements by the keeper of the dungeon, Warden "Adolf" Nelson, that the situation was nothing serious, the slave revolt has shaken the very walls of this medieval dungeon and signals even greater things to come--for the conditions remain unchanged.

So here we are in "the hole", a place where the most recalcitrant slaves--our forefathers and mothers--were forced to abide in the reeking stench of dungeons to await their fate for daring to speak back to the slavemaster--harborers of freedom. Its been over 350 years and it hasn't been an easy task. There are no mattresses in "the hole", no water, no toilet and no ventilation. In order to relieve yourself, you are forced to squat down over a 6 inch dark filthy "hole" in the floor covered with a metal grate, and the guard, who is the only one who can flush it, flushes it every three to four hours at his convenience. The stench of this awful place is almost overwhelmingly nauseating and the cold concrete walls that are covered with anti-establishment graffeti and pleadings for mercy to a nonexistent god, and cold concrete floors robs the warmth from your very body. But Alfred, Rory--who is in the cell right next to "the hole"--and I laugh in the faces of these simple pigs Don't they, the knot-brained fools, know that oppression only creates resistance. I've been everywhere in this dungeon of despair: "isolation", "population", "infirmary", "red tag", and "the hole". My spirits were never higher and my resolve to fight on never stronger. I know that this is just a continuation of the brutal oppression that led to the slave revolts on the ships, Denmark Vessey, Nat Turner, Malcolm X, Harlem, Watts, Detroit, Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, and the revolt by the prisoners in the Denver County Dungeon rising up out of the very depths of moral degradation and humiliation. Although my body may be bound and shackled, the driving force cannot be held down by chains and will always seek freedom and dignity. Shackled like a slave? F--K IT! WE ARE LIVING IN AN ERA OF WORLD REVOLUTION. THE RED BOOK IS MY BIBLE, THE GUN IS MY STAFF.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Landon Williams
Political Prisoner
Denver County Dungeon
Denver, Colorado

Rejection of People's Demands by Chief Pig Kelly

The peolpe of Kansas City, in seeing the repeated fascist strom trooper tactics of the pigs used against the people and the Black Panther Party, here and nationwide, came together and drew up a list of demands to be presented to the pig department. The people have seen the Black Panther Party's service to them, and they have deciced to withdraw their previous apathetic positions and voice their disapproval. Members of the Black Panther Party have been subjected to inhumane treatment, dawn raids and murders, etc. The people are demanding the presence of observers during searches and arrests of Panthers at our homes or office. The people, knowing that pigs being the reactionary lackeys that they are, have demanded that all searches be carried out during daylight house. Pig Kelly, Chief of the pig department, let out a funky oink when he rejected this demand from the people and stated that searches would not be restricted to daylight hours.

Another demand included calling the Panther attorney whenever arrest warrants were issued for a Panther. Kelly oinked, "All citizens MUST CONSENT to a legal search...it would not be reasonable to make an agreement with any group to call their attorney."

This blood-sucking pig doesn't understand that he and other fascist oppressors have no right that we, the oppressed, are bound to respect.!

The people demanded that pig Kelly and his henchmen admit to provocative harassment and killing of young Black leadership, in general, and Black Panthers in particular. Kelly stated, "We vigorously deny these charges..It would appear that such restraint by our officers can be exercised only with extraordinary self-control when the officers are confronted with laguage, threats and taunts which few persons outside of well trained enforcement personnel would tolerate."

Brother Pete O'Neal, Deputy Chairman of the Kansas City chapter stated, "The people throughout this nation saw how restrained this Kansas City pig department was. We felt the restraint in their billy clubs and strom trooper boots."

One inhabitant of the Black colony stated, "The people who signed this list of demands are a good cross section of the community who have not adopted the philosophy of the Panthers, but are not concerned with--I think they (the pigs) have clearly indicated they're not interested in what the people think. If you come to our doors as they've done in the past, we'll fight!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

SEIZE THE TIME, AND OFF THE SLIME

Kansas City Chapter
Black Panther Party



"WE HAVE FOUND IT HERE IN KOREA"

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1969

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, U.S.A.

☆ ☆

Eldridge Cleaver, who had led a delegation of the Black Panther Party, U.S.A., to the International Conference on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Fight against the Aggression of U.S. Imperialism held in Pyongyang recently, contributed the following article to our **Pyongyang Times**. (Title and sub-titles are ours.—Ed.)

☆ ☆

The delegation from the Black Panther Party to the historic conference of journalists, composed of Deputy Minister of Defense Byron Booth and myself, have been here in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea since September 11, 1969. From the bottom of our hearts, we wish to thank the heroic people of the DPRK for receiving us, making us feel so very welcome, and extending to us a dignified respect of a caliber which we have never experienced before outside of the homes of our mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers. For this we are deeply grateful to the Korean people, to your government and Workers' Party, under the strong and wise leadership of the incomparable Marshal Kim Il Sung.

Our Minds Have Been "Blown Away"

We had to take a very long airplane ride to get here. **Such trips are, by their very nature, an ordeal. But we would have been smiling every inch of the way had we known that when we set our feet down on the soil of Korea,** in Pyongyang, we would be inside of a new world. Our people have a phrase to describe one's state of mind inspired by an overwhelming event, and we think that this is the only phrase that can describe how we feel about Korea and its beautiful, heroic people: our minds have been blown away!

We did not know very much about your people and your country before coming here. Of course we knew the general things that the whole world knows, principally that your people had waged a victorious resistance to the invasion of your soil by the mercenary troops under the command of the U.S. imperialists and under the flag of the United Nations. And, of course, like all revolutionaries, we had read some of the writings of Comrade Kim Il Sung, with which we were greatly impressed. But we read a lot of writings by many different people, and we read everything with a grain of salt, because, particularly in our era of unprecedented hypocrisy and false posturing, you cannot believe everything you read. There are just too many people around who do not practice what they preach. So you can imagine how surprised and delighted we were to discover that not only does Comrade Kim Il Sung practice what he preaches, but what a preachment and what a practice!

We are truly amazed by the achievements of the Korean people. And we are amazed by the Korean people themselves. Nowhere have we encountered such beautiful people, so vigorously mobilized, so efficiently organized, moving with the harmony of one man, one will, and one dedication.

Ordinarily I would be embarrassed to speak in such glowing terms about people, but in this situation I can hardly find the words with which to congratulate you, to praise you, and to express how much we love you.

You have shown us around your country and given us a quick course in your heroic history, shown us your struggle, your humiliation, and your triumph under the staunch leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung. Your truly revolutionary socialist art has managed, as art should, to convey to us the deep truths of your experience in a condensed form, so that we feel that we have seen into the essence of your fighting people, even though we know that we could not possibly have learned, in such a brief period, all that there is to learn. But this little bit that we have learned is enough for us to say that we know you and we love you.

We have been most impressed with your struggle, with your children, with your socialist construction, and with your great Leader. The love that binds the Korean people together is of priceless beauty. The love you have for your Leader and your children is one and the same.

"Young Pioneers"

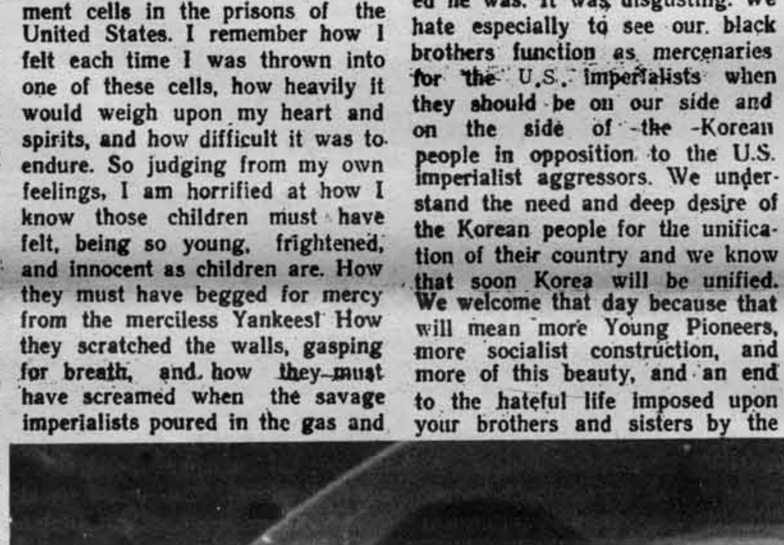
I must say a few words about your children, particularly the Young Pioneers. How wonderful and precious they are! How beautiful! Beyond the natural love which people have for their children, I think that there is a little something extra added in the love the Korean people have for their children. I get the impression that this is because for so many years you were unable to give them the kind of life and protection that you wanted to, that the suffering of the Korean children has been so great, that the slaughter, the beastly slaughter of your children first by the vicious Japanese imperialists and then, and most brutally, by the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

We visited Sinchon, and there we saw the execution chambers employed by the U.S. imperialists to mass murder Korean children and their mothers. We went inside these horror chambers and experienced a sinking heart to realize that the barbaric U.S. imperialist aggressors had herded the beautiful Korean children inside these death chambers by the hundreds, poured gas on them, and burned them alive. There was one of these death chambers in particular that I want to mention. It was all concrete, and was built, I think we were told, for an air raid shelter. It reminded me of the solitary confinement cells that I have myself been put inside in the prisons I have been in in the United States. From the inside, the death cells of Sinchon look exactly like the solitary confinement cells in the prisons of the United States. I remember how I felt each time I was thrown into one of these cells, how heavily it would weigh upon my heart and spirits, and how difficult it was to endure. So judging from my own feelings, I am horrified at how I know those children must have felt, being so young, frightened, and innocent as children are. How they must have begged for mercy from the merciless Yankees! How they scratched the walls, gasping for breath, and how they must have screamed when the savage imperialists poured in the gas and threw in the fire! Even to think about it, as I write this, brings tears to my eyes and a lump to my throat. So that whenever I see the Young Pioneers, my heart goes out to them especially, to each and every one of them, to all the Korean children.

On July 28, I became a father, our first child. The future of children in this world, under the threat of U.S. Fascism and Imperialism, is very important, very personally important to me, because I love all children.

"In Panmunjom"

In Panmunjom we saw and understood how your country is divided, and saw the hated U.S. imperialist M.P.s stationed there, who have the criminal audacity to pretend that they have a right to be there. It was kind of a shock for us to see these Yankees there, because we know them so well. We participated in a small demonstration against them, and gave them a piece of our mind. There were two black M.P.s among them and we singled them out and questioned them, challenging them for being here supporting the very system that is murdering our black people in the U.S.A. One of these blacks said, when we asked him, that he is from the state of Georgia in the United States. Atlanta, Georgia. That is disgusting, because any black man from the state of Georgia has been subjected to extreme oppression at the hands of white racists. The present governor of Georgia is notorious for a well known incident. Some black children entered a restaurant that he owns and tried to order some food. This racist pig, Governor Lester Maddox of Georgia, set upon them with an ax handle in one hand and a pistol in the other hand and beat them unmercifully. So that when this black M.P. at Panmunjom said that he came from the state of Georgia, it seemed so absurd, and we told him so. We could see how weakwilled and confused he was. It was disgusting. We hate especially to see our black brothers function as mercenaries for the U.S. imperialists when they should be on our side and on the side of the Korean people in opposition to the U.S. imperialist aggressors. We understand the need and deep desire of the Korean people for the unification of their country and we know that soon Korea will be unified. We welcome that day because that will mean more Young Pioneers, more socialist construction, and more of this beauty, and an end to the hateful life imposed upon your brothers and sisters by the U.S. imperialists who occupy your country. Our people have been under the very same boots of the U.S. fascist imperialists, for 400 years now, so nobody need tell us about how disagreeable it is!



ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, MIN. OF INFO., B.P.P.

"What Is Most Important"

I must speak now of what is most important. We came to Korea in search of something. We have been searching all over the world for it. The whole of our lives has been given to this search. And all of the oppressed people of the world are searching for this thing. We have found it here in Korea. Let me explain. We speak of internationalizing our struggle against imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism. In order to succeed in this, we must have an international analysis and an international strategy based on this analysis. This strategy must be implemented through international tactics. I think that Comrade Kim Il Sung has provided these. I see the earth as one big piece of land with one big body of water. I see one territory. And I see Comrade Kim Il Sung speaking to all the people in this territory and I see them listening to him and understanding him. What he is saying is so clear that even a child should understand it. He is telling us what is right before our eyes, what we are all prepared to see and understand, but which we could not see as clearly as he could because we did not have his perspective. Now that he has pointed it out to us, we can see it clearly too.

It would take a man like Comrade Kim Il Sung, with his long and deep experience of fighting against imperialism, including deep experience in guerilla warfare. He has taken what he knows and applied it to the international situation. I think that the result is beautiful. I think it is what we've all been seeking, and waiting for, and working for.

The Korean people, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the great Leader of the 40 million Korean people, Comrade Kim Il Sung, have heightened our consciousness to a level that makes us equal to the task of dealing with our number one enemy, the U.S. fascist imperialist aggressors.

So we are very glad to have come to your country, to have seen and learned all these things, to have known such beauty. The strength and revolutionary thrust of your entire society, your theatre, your industry, even your very trees and beautiful flowers, have made an indelible impression upon us. We would like to stay here in your glorious land forever. But, of course, we must return to our struggles, to our own people, to fulfill our duties and to take back with us and spread broadcast what we have learned here. If there is one single thing we have learned here, it is the wisdom and rewards of tenacity, of never giving up the struggle, of fighting harder and harder the more the vicious enemy presses us. This is what the Korean people did, and this is why they are triumphant. Our dream will be to someday make a return visit to a unified Korea, with Young Pioneers from the northern border to the tip of this country in the south.

We would like for the Korean people to know, that within the 30 million black people inside the United States, and among the other oppressed people there, there are ardent battalions of that army of liberation which the heroic guerilla, Major Ernesto Che Guevara called forth. Che called for a continental wide army. We respond to Che's call, enlarging his army into a hemisphere wide army of liberation. And we go further, responding to the resounding trumpet call of Marshal Kim Il Sung, the great strategist and tactician of the international struggle against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism. We will carry this sacred cause of our joint struggle through to the bitter sweet end, and win for our people the precious fruits of a great victory.

Eldridge Cleaver

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

ZIONISM (KOSHER NATIONALISM) IMPERIALISM=FASCISM

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1969

The Zionist fascist state of Israel is a puppet and lackey of the imperialist and must be smashed. Reparations must be made to all the displaced people, all the people who were forced to flee and abandon their homes and homeland by demagogy (lying and deceiving) and terror (fascism). All of the property stolen by the Zionists with their fascist storm troopers headed by Moshe Dyan and the aid they received from the imperialist must be returned to the people of Palestine!

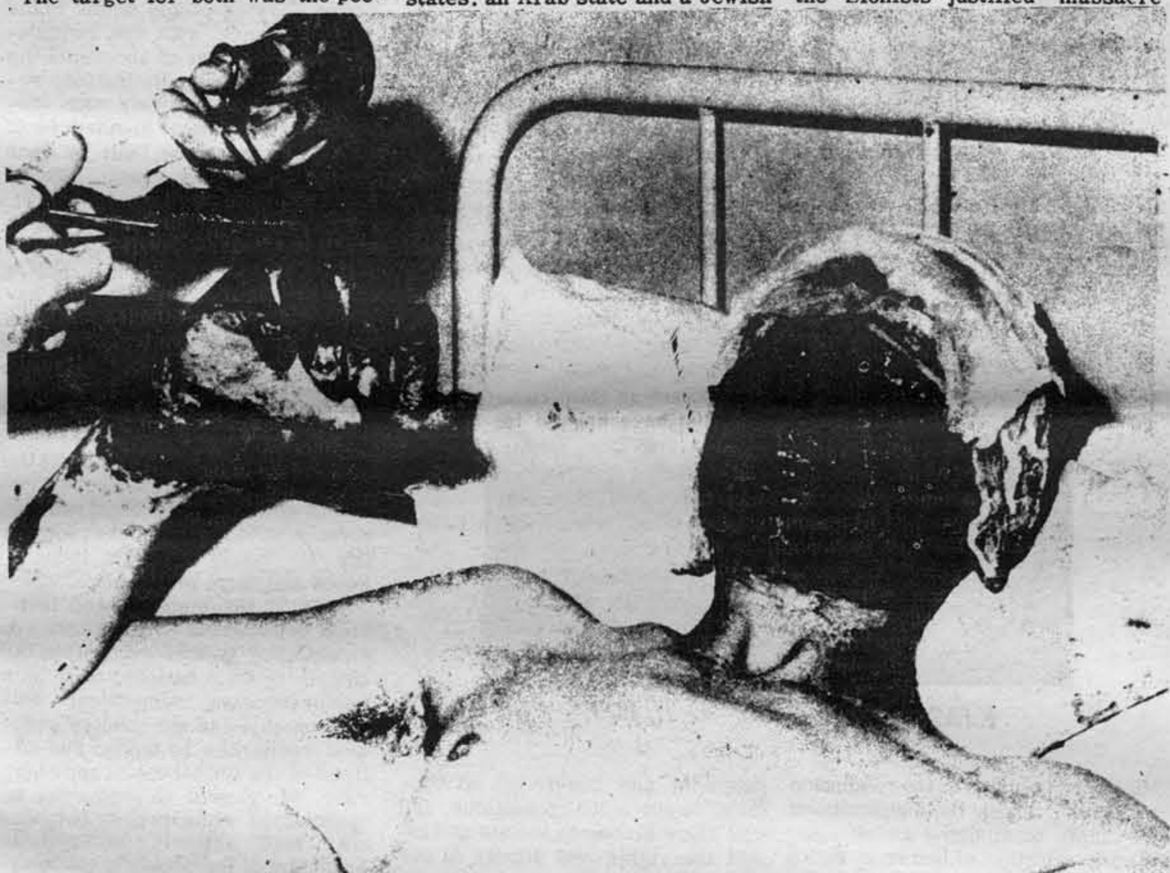
Victory to the people's struggle of Palestine!
Victory to Al-Fat'h!
Victory to Al-Assifa!

To those of you who are still reading after my opening statements, I will run down why what the Zionists and the state of Israel did and are doing to the Arabs can be and is equated to what the Nazis did to the Jews.

During the 19th century, national consciousness began to rise among the Arab people and they began to strive to liberate their country from Ottoman rule. The Ottomans had occupied the Arab world for over 600 years. As in any type of colonial situation, this kept the Arab world underdeveloped and ignorant. While the Arab revolutionary movement was underway, the torture and persecution of Jewish minorities in Czarist Russia was underway and many Jews sought refuge in the Holy Land. They were welcomed much in the same manner as the native Americans welcomed the pilgrims. In 1914 when the Arab people revolted against Ottoman rule, the Jewish population of Palestine was not over 50,000. The Arab people put all of their time and energy into the revolt against the Ottoman rule.

After a long and arduous struggle against occupation, the day of victory dawned. Instead of enjoying their victory and being able to explore their valiantly won independence, they discovered that Britain (an imperialist b----, who had pretended to be their friend and even offered support to them as an ally) along with the French made an agreement to divide the Arab world between themselves (imperialist pigs). The imperialists needed the Middle East as a staging place on the route to Asia, and with the construction of the Suez Canal, this cut down the time and cost of trading with Asia. Also it's important to note that imperialism increased a thousand times when oil was discovered at the turn of this century. In addition to this, Britain managed to have herself recognized as the guardian for Palestine, supposedly until the Palestinian people "became" able to govern themselves.

They also discovered that back in August of 1897, a meeting had been held in Basle, Switzerland called by Theodore Herzl, a Jew, and that a new enemy of Palestine and of the Arab world had been created. It's name, ZIONISM! Now, Zionism is nothing more than negative, backward, reactionary nationalism -- Jewish nationalism, Kosher nationalism. The philosophy of Zionism is reactionary nationalism and separatism. The contradiction at that time was that there was no Jewish nation, no Jewish state. It's logical then that the program of Zionism was to create a Jewish state. Herzl, the father of Kosher nationalism, was determined to create the Jewish state in Palestine. In 1903 the British government offered an area in Uganda to the Zionist organization. However, the seventh Zionist congress in 1905 rejected any colonization outside Palestine and its neighboring countries. In 1917 while the Arabs were involved in their struggle against the Ottoman's rule, British imperialism made a deal with Zionism. This was in the form of a declaration by Britain's foreign secretary, Lord Balfour. The declaration basically said that Britain would facilitate the setting up of a national home for the Jews in Palestine. This was the basis for the subsequent Zionist claim to the right of entry into Palestine. British and Zionist pigs, sitting up in Europe somewhere, decided this without the consent and also without consulting the Palestinian people. Whereas the Arabs' former struggle was against the Ottomans and was for freedom, their renewed struggle was against the British-Zionist alliance and was for survival. British motives were for control of the land and the Zionist motive was to occupy the land. The target for both was the people of Palestine.



ARAB VICTIM OF ZIONIST NAPALM

This basically is the root of the problem: two alien pigs joining hands -- British imperialism and Zionism. The only choice for the Palestinian people was to take up arms. Several times the Arab people revolted, especially in 1929, 1936 and 1939, claiming the right of self determination and demanding the preservation of Palestine as an Arab homeland.

In the 1930's, fascism (using demagogy, terror and racism) reared its head with insane pig Adolph Hitler. All the atrocities and attempted genocide against the Jewish people under German fascism are history and are common knowledge. What is not common knowledge is the fascism used by the Zionists to seize and maintain control over Palestine.

Prior to World War II and the slaughter of 6,000,000 Jews, the Zionists did not have wide support for their plans for Palestine. In fact, Britain had reneged on the Balfour declaration. Also the British had restrictions on the number of immigrants allowed. From 1939 to 1944, Jewish immigration was to be limited to 75,000 after which it was to cease unless the Palestinian Arabs, on the part of the Zionists, broke out against the British occupying Palestine. At first, they were allowed to immigrate freely, but it developed into what the Zionists called a fight for independence. In the meantime, due to the slaughter of millions of Jews in Europe during World War II, Zionism was embraced by world Jewry, especially in the United States. In 1942, a Zionist conference in New York City demanded the establishment of a Jewish state in the whole of Palestine and unlimited Jewish immigration. At the same time, Arabs throughout the Middle East intensified their demands for the right to self-determination. Frustrated and vacillating, Britain submitted the case of Palestine to Anglo-U.S. discussion for a solution and later to the U.N. Finally, on November 29, 1947, the UN proposed that Palestine be partitioned into two states: an Arab state and a Jewish state, and that Jerusalem itself would be internationalized.

It was at this point in history that the Zionists launched their fascist campaign against the Arabs in Palestine. The Zionists say the Arabs left Palestine spontaneously and due to the propaganda call of Arab leaders. An objective examination of history reveals otherwise. A conversation between a British office of the Jordan Arab Legion Glubb Pasha, and a Palestine government Jewish official reveals the intention of the Zionist plans. Glubb asked the government official whether the new Jewish state would not have many internal troubles in view of the fact that the Arab inhabitants of the Jewish state would be equal in number to the Jews. He said, "Oh, No!! That will be fixed. A few calculated massacres will soon get rid of them." This rhetoric was backed up by a deliberate and unprovoked attack on the village of Dier Yassin on April 9, 1948. The fascist Zionist pigs not only killed, but stripped, butchered, and mutilated over 250 old men, women and children. Historically this par-



DC, FIELD MARSHALL, B.P.P.

ticular event is important because the Zionists' justified massacre of Dier Yassin, led to the panic flight of the remaining Arabs in the "Jewish" state. Arnold Toynbee, the British historian described the massacre as "comparable to crimes committed against the Jews by the Nazis." Menachem Beigin, the dog that led the attack, said, "The massacre was not only justified but there would not have been a state of Israel without the victory at Deir Yassin." After the massacre, the Zionist underground forces roamed the streets of cities using loud speakers warning the Arab inhabitants, "The road to Jericho is still open, and remember Deir Yassin." They told the Jerusalem Arabs, "Fly from Jerusalem before you are killed." This is enough evidence to show that the Arabs did not leave Palestine spontaneously. Nathan Chofshi, a Jewish immigrant from Russia who arrived in Palestine in 1908 in the same group with Ben Gurion said in a rebuttal to an American Zionist rabbi's assertions that "If Rabbi Kaplan really wanted to know what happened, we old Jewish settlers in Palestine who witnessed the flight could tell him how and in what manner we Jews forced the Arabs to leave the cities of Jaffa, Iydda, Ramleh, Beer Sheba, and Acre from among innumerable others. Here was a people who lived on its own land for 1300 years. We came and turned the native Arabs into tragic refugees. And still we dare to slander and malign them, to besmirch their name. Instead of being deeply ashamed of what we did and trying to undo some of the evil we committed by helping those unfortunate refugees, we justify our terrible acts and even attempt to glorify them."

At the end of this particular reign of terror, the state of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948 and was immediately recognized by the U.S. Armistice lines negotiated under UN auspices giving Israel approximately one third more territory than provided by the UN resolution. So, 50 years after the first Zionist congress and 30 years after the Balfour declaration, Zionism achieved its aim of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine.

Now, 20 years later and after 3 wars, the conditions of the Palestinian people have continued to worsen.

The UN is powerless to do anything but pass empty resolutions. It is not in the interest of the imperialists to do anything but to continue to arm both sides and keep the Arabs and Jews fighting each other. If the problem of the Zionists was not occupying the time of the Arab world, it is a good possibility that they would make a move to put an end to monopoly capitalist exploitation of the oil resources of the Middle East. The Persian Gulf area produced 27% of the world's petroleum and has proved global reserves of 60%. American firms have a gross investment in the region of more than $23 billion. U.S. firms control more than 60% Middle East oil, while British firms control under 30%. Due to the low cost of production and low wages paid the profits on Mid-East oil are astronomical. The Wall Street Journal March 14, 1966 stated that the 1965 pre-tax profits or Aramio (which controls the total output of Saudi Arabia) amounted to 85% on sales as against an average of less than 10% for all U.S. manufacturing corporations. There is no other investment anywhere which offers U.S monopoly capital such phenomenal returns as does Middle East oil.

However, the spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology. Imperialism and its lackeys are in their death throws. Capitalism, imperialism, and their running dogs, Kosher nationalism, pork chop nationalism, taco nationalism, all reactionaries are doomed. They are going against the grain of history. They are trying to block the road of history and they will be run down. When we examine history objectively, we see continuous development from a lower to a higher level. Any views of inertia, complacency or pessimism are all wrong. Therefore, the progressive people, the have-nots, the revolutionary people of the world, can embrace the fact that capitalism will be replaced by socialism and this is independent of whether you like it or not.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

"AN UNARMED PEOPLE ARE SLAVES OR SUBJECT TO SLAVERY AT ANY GIVEN TIME"

Huey P. Newton

"The Decisive Factor in Victory in the Struggle Against Imperialist Reaction, is the Internal Forces of the Country Concerned!"

KIM IL SUNG

Our Party's idea of Juche is the most correct Marxist-Leninist idea of leadership for the successful carrying out of our revolution and construction and is the invariable guiding principle of the Government of the Republic in all its policies and activities.

Only by firmly establishing Juche, can each country repudiate flunkeyism and dogmatism and creatively apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of other countries to suit its historical conditions and national peculiarities and solve its own questions entirely for itself on its own responsibility by discarding the spirit of relying on others and displaying the spirit of self-reliance, and, accordingly, carry on its revolutionary cause and construction work with success.

To establish Juche is a question of special importance for us in the light of our country's geographical situation and environments, of the peculiarities of its historical development, and the complex and arduous nature of our revolution. Whether or not Juche is established is a question of key importance on which depends the victory of our revolution, a vital question which decides the destinies of our nation.

The Government of the Republic has been able to score great victories and successes in the revolutionary struggle and construction work, because it has endeavoured consistently to solve all problems in an independent manner, in conformity with the specific realities of our country and mainly by its own efforts, invariably guided by the idea of Juche of the Workers' Party of Korea in its activities and adhering strictly to the Marxist-Leninist principles.

As a result of our efforts to establish Juche in the ideological domain, the national pride of our workers and their consciousness of independence have grown to a great extent and they have come to acquire the traits of a revolutionary who does not follow others blindly but approaches their things critically instead of mechanically imitating or swallowing them whole, and who strives to solve all matters in conformity with the actual conditions of our country and with his own wisdom and strength.

Our Party's independence, self-sustenance and self-defense finding their full embodiment in all fields of national construction, the political independence of the Republic has been consolidated and the economic independence and military power of the country have grown further still.

As a full-fledged independent state, our country now determines on all its lines and policies independently and exercises complete equality and sovereignty in its foreign relations.

Under the leadership of our Party and the Government of the Republic our people have laid the firm foundations of an independent national economy in accordance with the revolutionary principle of self-reliance, and thereby eliminated centuries-old backwardness and poverty, further increased the economic might of the Republic and improved their livelihood radically. The establishment of Juche in the fields of science and culture accelerated the progress of science and technology and brought about a great qualitative change in education and in the work of training cadres and the efflorescence and advancement of a new, socialist national culture congenial to the life and sentiments of our people.

In the field of defense upbuilding, too, we strengthened our defense capabilities, so that we are in a position to defend firmly the security of our fatherland and the socialist gains by our own force even under the complex situation as today.

The great victories and successes we have attained in the socialist revolution and socialist construction over the past years are, indeed, the brilliant fruition of the great vitality of our Party's idea of Juche and of the line of independence, self-sustenance and self-defense—the embodiment of the idea in all fields. We formulated our policies independently by creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist principles to the specific realities of Korea and enlisted the inexhaustible creative potentials of our industrious and talented people and the rich domestic natural resources in the carrying out of the policies. That is why we have been able to build a socialist state independent in politics, self-sustaining in the economy and self-defensive in national defense in a short period of time.

Our Party's line of strengthening the political, economic and military might of the country in every way by doing everything in our power, is the most correct way of expediting the victory of the Korean revolution.

The Government of the Republic will, in the future too, adhere steadfastly to the principle of settling all problems in the revolution and construction independently on the basis of studying and analysing the realities of Korea in strict accordance with the idea of Juche of the Workers' Party of Korea.



KIM IL SUNG OF D.P.R.K

All nations are equal and have the sacred right of national self-determination to decide their own destinies by themselves. A nation can secure independence and freedom and enjoy happiness and prosperity only if it achieves complete political self-determination and exercises its rights, taking them into its hands firmly.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Government of the Republic will use its own brains to formulate in conformity to our realities and carry out for itself all policies for socialist construction—policies of industry, agriculture, education, literature and art, judicial administration, etc. We must not act on orders and instructions from others but, proceeding from the interests of our revolution and construction, settle all problems from the standpoint of Juche in accordance with our own judgment and decision. It is true that we should unite with friends who are fighting for a common aim, and learn from their experience if it accords with the Marxist-Leninist principles and is worth learning. But even in that case, we must always approach such experience critically, resolutely repudiate the tendency to swallow things of others undigested or imitate them mechanically, and must not blindly copy what does not fit our own conditions.

In the struggle for the unification of the fatherland, too, the Government of the Republic will continue to hold fast to its independent position. We regard whatever attempt to realize the country's unification by relying on foreign forces as a treachery to the country and the nation to place the whole of Korea in the hands of foreign aggressors. The question of Korean unification is an internal affair of the Korean people, which cannot be settled by any foreign forces. Our people are a wise and civilized nation who are fully capable of settling their national issue for themselves. We hold invariably that the questions of unifying our fatherland must be settled by our people themselves without interference from any outside forces after the aggressive army of U.S. imperialism is withdrawn from South Korea.

In the sphere of foreign policy, too, we should continue to work for establishing our political and economic relations with foreign countries on the principles of complete equality and mutual respect. Likewise, we have to wage the struggle against imperialism or Right and Left opportunism strictly in accordance with our own judgment and conviction to conform to our actual conditions, and will allow no one to violate and insult the rights and dignity of our nation.

The Government of the Republic will continue to faithfully execute our Party's line of building an independent national economy by carrying through the principle of self-reliance in the economic sphere, while consolidating independence in politics.

We are today confronted with the weighty tasks of building the economy and defenses in parallel to lay a firm material basis for the prosperity of generations to come and establish reliable economic foundations which will enable us to meet the great revolutionary event of the unification of the fatherland actively. All these tasks can be performed successfully only if the principle of self-reliance, the line of building an independent national economy, is firmly maintained and carried on more consistently.

Self-reliance is a thoroughly revolutionary stand for the people to accomplish the revolution in their country basically by relying on their own internal forces, it is an independent stand to construct their country by their own labor and with their domestic natural resources.

Only by firmly maintaining such a revolutionary stand and revolutionary principle can we continue our struggle without abandoning our revolutionary constancy under whatever complex and arduous situation and attain victory in the revolutionary struggle and success in construction work by braving difficulties and hardships in the course of our onward movement. If one lacks the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, one will lose faith in one's sources of one's country, grow indolent and loose, and fall into passivism and conservatism.

Only when a nation builds an independent national economy, can it secure political independence, make the country rich, strong and advanced and achieve national prosperity.

Economic independence is the material basis for political independence. A country which is dependent on foreign forces economically becomes a satellite of other countries politically, and an economically subjected nation cannot get out of colonial slavery politically.

Without building an independent national economy it is impossible to establish material and technical foundations for socialism and build socialism and communism successfully.

To build socialism it is essential to create a powerful base of heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its core and, on this basis, equip light industry, agriculture, transport and all other branches of the people's economy with up-to-date techniques and thus lay the material and technical foundations of socialism powerful enough to improve the welfare of the working people on the whole in accordance with the requirements of the laws of socialism. As long as national distinctions remain and states exist, such material and technical foundations of socialism must be built by each national state as a unit. Therefore, it can be said that the firm material and technical foundations of socialism have been laid in each country only when it has built a comprehensive, independent national ecomomy which is developed in a many-sided way, equipped with the latest techniques and can be run by its own national cadres with its own natural resources, raw materials and other supplies so as to meet in full with home products the varied and ever-growing requirements of ecomomic construction, defense upbuilding and the people's life for heavy and light industry goods and farm produce.

Only if the material and technical foundations of socialism are established in this way within the bounds of each national state as a comprehensive, independent unit of economy, can the country's natural resources be tapped and utilized to the fullest extent and a high rate of growth in production be maintained while proper balances are kept actively between all branches of the people's economy. Also, only in this way is it possible to rapidly develop science, technology and culture, steadily enhance the technical and cultural standards of the working people and bring them up into men of a new type developed in an all-round way.

The building of an independent national economy is also the basic guarantee for enabling nations to do away with the economic backwardness which practically constitutes the basis of inequality between them, to achieve national prosperity and build socialist and communist society with success.

The building of socialism and communism, as you know, requires eradication of national inequality together with class distinctions.

Yet, this inequality does not disappear as soon as the socialist revolution triumphs in each country, nor does it vanish through amalgamation of nations in this or that way.

The era of capitalism is an era when national oppression prevails side by side with class exploitation, an era when the free development of a great majority of nations is held back by only a few nations and there exists national inequality. It is therefore necessary for the nations liberated from capitalist exploitation and oppression not only to convert themselves into labouring socialist nations but also build a highly developed independent national economy to achieve the greatest possible degree of their free development and all-round efflorescence. Only by doing can all inequalities between nations be obliterated and can all nations successfully build socialism and gradually go over to communism.

All this testifies that the line of building an independent national economy consistently followed by our Party and the Government of the Republic is a thoroughly revolutionary line of economic construction, which conforms with the lawful requirements of the building of socialism and communism.

We will carry through the revolutionary principle of self-reliance in the upbuilding of national defense, too, and thus further increase the country's self-defense capacities.

Needless to say, the international unity of the proletariat of all countries and the friendly alliance of the socialist countries in the revolutionary struggle against imperialist aggression and against the pressure by the international capital are an important security for safeguarding the revolutionary gains already obtained and winning fresh victory. It is a sacred internationalist duty of the Communists to do all they can to help and give support and encouragement to each other in the battle against imperialism, the common enemy, and each country should strive to cement this international solidarity in the struggle against the imperialist forces of aggression from without.

The decisive factor in victory in the struggle against imperialist reaction, however, is the internal forces of the country concerned. Although foreign support is important in the war against alien aggressors, it plays, to all intents and purposes, no more than a secondary role. When the internal forces are not prepared in each country, its revolutionary struggle cannot emerge victorious no matter how great the foreign support may be. If the Communists only pin their hopes on foreign support and aid without building up their own revolutionary forces, they cannot defend the security of their fatherland and the revolutionary gains reliably against imperialist aggression.

TWO KOREAN PATRIOTS KILLED

PYONGYANG, Korea (LNS) - In Chicago, the latest victims are Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. In Seoul, the leading pig city of South Korea, two revolutionaries were killed recently, too. Their names are Li Mun Gyu and Li Gwan Hak. Both were members of the United Revolutionary Party, which, like the Black Panther Party in Chicago, is fighting for a better way of life for all the people.

The two South Korean revolutionaries were politically active in the growing South Korean movement against the U.S. occupation of that land. They were arrested and brought to trial. After turning the jail and th[illegible]rtroom into a "theater of strug[illegible]," reports the Korea Central News Agency, the two men were executed.

Just as Chicago's Black community is occupied by a repressive outside force (the Chicago Police Department), so South Korea is occupied by tens of thousands of U.S. troops. Were it not for that occupation, which intensifies daily, the reactionary South Korean regime in Seoul would not last very long and revolutionaries like Li Mun Gyu and Li Gwan Hail could live long lives in the service of their people.

TRANSCRIPT OF ASSAULT PLAN

(The following is the complete, unaltered text of the attack plan of the Berkeley Pig Department against the headquarters of the Black Panther Party.

11 Pat
2 Sgt
1 Lt.

1. Assign covering officers to the front and rear of the building. **(Left-hand marginal note says: "ABLE - Sgt & Pat, BAKER - 1 Pat, CHARLIE - Sgt & Pat")**
a. Two to cover the back
(6) b. four to cover the front (2 south front, 2 north front). **(Interline note says: "ABLE 1 shotgun 1 Reising Radio, BAKER 1 shotgun 1 Reising Radio, CHARLIE 1 shotgun 1 Reising Radio." After BAKER, the word "launcher" is crossed out. After CHARLIE, the word ".37 mm" is crossed out.)**
2. These six men would hold position to keep offenders sealed inside building.
3. Evacuate wounded with covering officers laying down fire base.
4. Notify Captain of Patrol and Chief of Police, Ranking Officer of 4th
5. Notify ranking officer of Service Division to secure the H of J. **(Hall of Justice)**
* **(handwritten)** Notify DD **(Detective Division)** to stand by for questioning of prisoners & general investigation.
6. Request that Wagon, Ambulances and Fire truck to stand by in parking lot of Safeway Stores, Russell and Shattuck.
* **(handwritten)** Notify ACSO **(Alameda County Sheriff's Office)** - Request riot tank be sent.
7. Assign traffic posts to divert traffic around scene.
a. Not assigned to fourth platoon.
8. Block Shattuck at Prince and at Woolsey with Police Cars.
a. Use no flares and no personnel left in street.
9. Evacuate nearby homes as needed. **(Handwritten note says: "Squad DOG (2)")**
10. Order offenders to come out of building with hands up and lay on sidewalk in front of building. **(This item is circled)**
a. Use bull horn or telephone. **(This item is crossed out)**
b. If this fails. **(This item is crossed out)**
* **(handwritten)** ABLE CEASE FIRE EXCEPT AT DEFINITE TARGET.
11. **Assign two man squad to front with shotgun (solid slugs) and armor piercing rifle to blast armour plate off upper windows. (This item is either crossed out or partially underlined. Handwritten note says: "DOG 1 shotfun 1 37mm & launcher." The words "1 rifle" are crossed out.)**
12. Assign two man squad in front to launch gas through upper and lower windows. **(Handwritten note says, "EASY")**
a. **(Words crossed out say: "One grenade launcher." Handwritten note says: "1. shotgun & launcher)**
b. **(Words crossed out say: "One .37MM gas gun." Handwritten note says: "2. 37 MM Gas Gun")**
12. **(sic)** Order upper window shields to be shot out, and use OO buck shot to shoot out all lower windows. Use rifle slugs to try and knock open main front door. **(This item is either crossed-out or partially underlined.)**
13. Notify HMH **(Herrick Memorial Hospital)** to stand by to receive wounded.
a. Post shotgun guard at HMH. —Not fourth platoon.
14. Launch in considerable amount of gas and then again order offenders out by bull horn or telephone.
a. Walk out front with hands up and then lay on sidewalk in front of building.
b. If this fails
(handwritten interline note says, "A B C D E")
15. Front and back guard lay down fire on second floor. Assault squad (three men) armed with sub-machine guns approach building from the south. As they approach all firing cease. Squad enter building through front broken out windows or doors.
a. First man cover stairs and no firing unless target is presented.
b. Next two men enter and move to left and to right center of ground floor. Fire 30 rounds each up through second story floor, and reload.
c. By now all shutters should be blown off upper floor windows. The entire building should be flooded with tear gas. The entire upper floor should be covered with intense fire. This should have the necessary effect.
16. Order those able to walk down the inside stairs to the ground floor, covered by the assault squad. Then they will walk out to the sidewalk and lay face down.
a. This will be done by bull horn and/or phone.
17. **Front and rear covering squads remain in position until told to move.**
18. **Leave one front covering squad on roof and call the other one down to cover prisoners. Leave back squad in position.**
19. **Assault squad will then proceed upstairs and bring down the wounded and or dead.**
20. **Ambulance(s) will be called in from Russell and Shattuck to pick up wounded and/or dead.**
21. **Call back squad around to front to assist as needed.**
22. One front squad will still remain on roof to cover any attack from the outside.
23. Call wagon down to pick up prisoners.
24. Fire truck called in if needed.
25. Back squad go to H of J to book in and question prisoners.
26. One front squad go to HMH to guard and question wounded.
27. One front squad will remain on roof until we are clear of area.
28. Assault squad search and confiscate evidence from building.
a. Call in photographer. **(Handwritten note says: "Dig up back yard")**
29. After all others have gone, front squad pull out. This may take considerable time.
30. Assault squad go to H of J to package evidence, make notes, write reports.
31. Back squad at H of J write reports after booking and questioning.
32. Front squad leave HMH and write reports.
33. Remaining front squad leave area come to H of J and write reports.
34. Fourth Platoon Lieutenant and Sergeants meet to make sure that all has been covered.
35. Fourth Platoon Lieutenant and Sergeants brief staff.
(the remainder of the plan is handwritten)

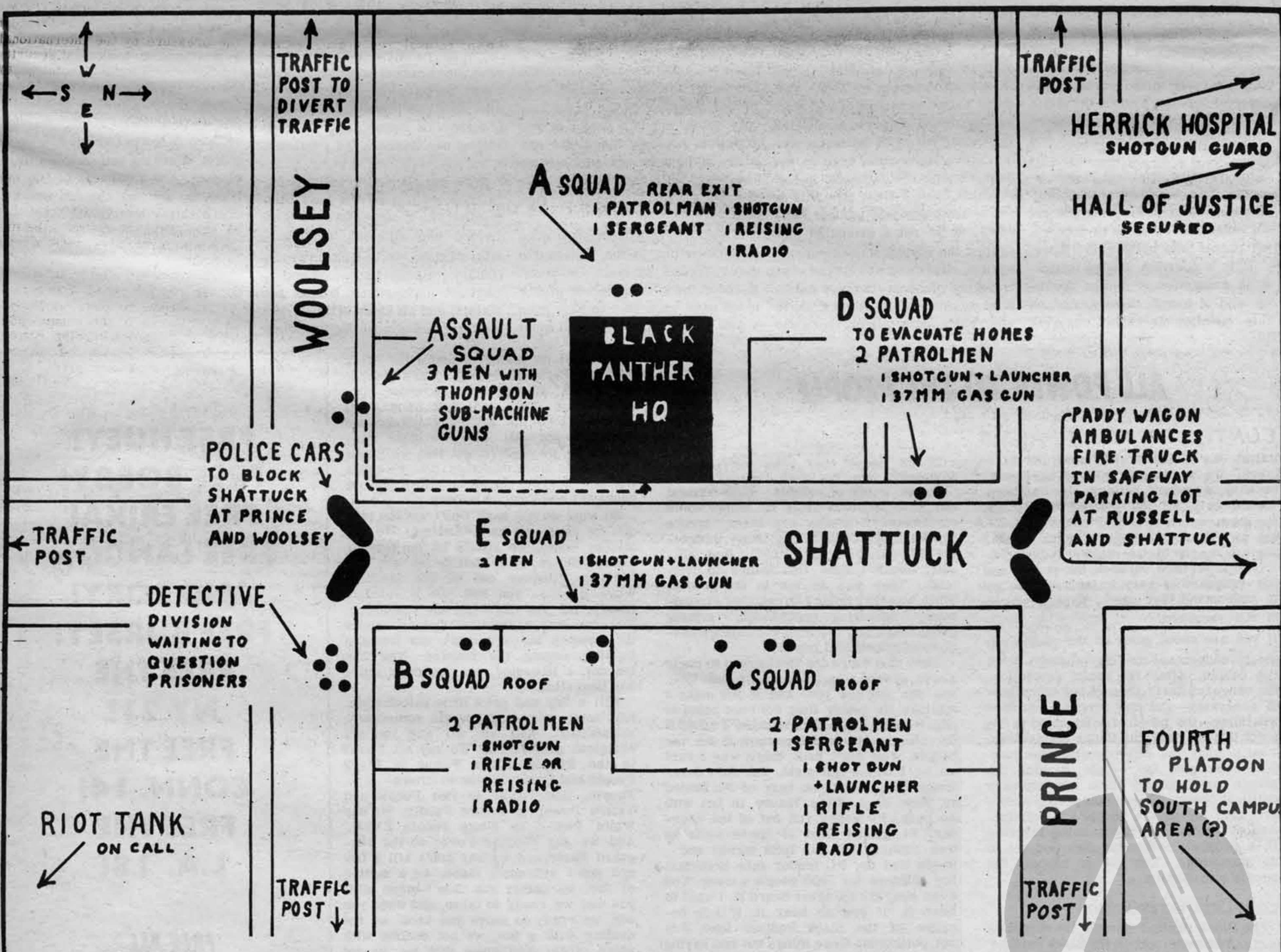
ABLE — COVER BACK
(2) 1-shotgun & launcher
1 Pat 1-Reising
1 Sgt **(The words "1-rifle" crossed out)**
Radio

BAKER — COVER S-FRONT
2 Pat 1 shot gun
1 rifle or Reising
Radio

CHARLIE — COVER N-FRONT
(3) 1 shot gun & launcher
2 Pat 1 rifle
1 Sgt 1 Reising
Radio

DOG — COVER FRONT AFTER EVACUATION
2 Pat 1 shot gun & launcher
1 37 mm gas gun

ASSAULT — ENTER BUILDING
4 3 Thompsons
2 Pat or 2 Thompsons & 1 shotgun .00
1 Lt. Radio



ARTIST'S RENDERING FROM PLANS

REPRINTED FROM THE BERKELEY TRIBE THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1969

Robert Williams Speaks at N.C.C.F. Panther Benefit; Detroit, Michigan

REPRINTED FROM LAST ISSUE DUE TO NUMEROUS ERRORS

Well, I didn't expect to be recognized here. Yeah, I didn't expect to be recognized here. In fact, I was just coming in. I had been to another place, and I happened to hear about this meeting, and I know how the things are going now in this country and the fact that we are all engaged in the same struggle against the same enemy. Also because in this country now, things are very critical, and this is one of the main reasons why I've chosen to return to this country at this time.

More than most people realize that the country is moving to the right, the country is moving fascist; and it's not a matter of radicalism, it's not a matter of crime, it's not a matter of punishment. It's a matter now that there is a struggle of whether America is going to be fascist or whether America is going to be democratic or whether America is going to belong to the people. We see now fascist repression. We see it in the cold blooded murder of the Panthers. We see it in the repression of all people who are left, all people who are just, all people who believe in human decency and dignity. And this is what is happening in America today.

There are people among us today who say that this cannot happen in America. And a few years ago, the same people were saying, they're asking the question, "How did the German people, such intelligent people, allow a Hitler to emerge in Germany? How could they allow the Nazis to emerge? How could they tolerate a regime that would exterminate a whole race of people?" And I hear today the same echoes in America. On my return, the tragic thing is, I hear Black people. I hear Black people ask me, "Do you really think that they would exterminate us?" Did the Christian Germans allow the Nazis to exterminate the Jews in Germany? And there were Jews too who asked the same question. And this is how America is going today. And this is why that we must all join together, all people who believe in decency, all people who believe in justice.

It is a question now of justice. It is a question of human decency and of human dignity. And on this question we cannot separate into small fractions. We cannot afford to separate and divide ourselves into groups--what we call moderate, liberal and radical, as far as the enemy is concerned. There is but one group that is considered the enemy group, and that is any group that is left of center or left of right. And this applies to the intellectual, this applies to the democrat, this applies to the person who believes in human decency and dignity. The question arises now, "What are we to do? What is to happen?" There are those who are just sitting, who are waiting. They have hope, they have faith, some even have the faith to pray; and they think that this alone is enough.

But from afar I've had the opportunity to look at America, to look at what is happening here. I've been to Vietnam, and I have seen the children, the faces of the children there and of the mothers, and the people who work in the fields, work with primitive instruments of agriculture. I have seen women pulling plows, women without shoes, children in need of medical attention. And on top of that, the government of the United States says that these people constitute the enemy; they constitute a threat to democracy, to the American way of life. And it is necessary to go 8,000 miles to exterminate them. And I have seen children who have been napalmed. And I wonder how human beings and the most powerful nation in the world can think that they have done a noble thing. That this is a cause, a cause worth supporting, worth fighting for, and now that I have returned to America I have seen that in Vietnam.

And now the tragedy is that I hear that in Chicago, and the United States of America in 1969, that these same fascist forces will start a campaign of genocide against the Panthers. We must question who they are. We've also seen in the past few days the campaign in Los Angeles, and I know that this is not a campaign just against Panthers. It is not a campaign just against the Blacks. It is a campaign against all of those who oppose what is taking place in America today. It is against the resisters, those who resist imperialism, those who resist fascism, those who are nonconformists. And I have seen this in America. And I know that this is the beginning of something much worse, something much more tragic. It is the beginning of a campaign, an organized campaign against the resisters, the resisters of evil. It means that the intellectual, it means that the non-conformist, the dissenter, that all of these people are in the same category. It means that the Black people in America are facing the same situation that the Jewish people faced in Nazi Germany during the rise of Hitler; and this is a great tragedy.

The tragedy is that the American people, after having observed the history in Nazi Germany, are allowing themselves to be pulled along the same road in the same direction. And this is a great tragedy. And one honorable thing is that those few people, the minority that is not a silent minority, are speaking out, are beginning to resist. And this is why I deem it an honor to be able to add my voice, my voice to those who are resisting tyranny, resisting the American march toward fascism--those who are decent enough to resist what is taking place.

And at this time I would like to say that what is happening to the Panthers is happening to all of us. It is happening to all of the decent forces in the world, not only in America, but throughout the world. And the fact remains that the only decency left in America today is the decency that is now being cursed, that is now being murdered, that is now being imprisoned, that is now being repressed. And one thing that we all can rest assured of and that is, like Hitler's Germany, the day is coming when America must pay the price, not only those who are guilty of repression, not only those who are guilty of heinous crimes against humanity, but those who have constituted the silent majority (applause).

If you can imagine what it must have been like in the forties, the early forties in Nazi Germany, if you could have imagined what it must have been like to have been a Jew in 1940 in Germany, it must have appeared and it must have seemed that there would never have been to the Third Reich. It must



ROBERT WILLIAMS

have seemed that Hitler's Germany was unconquerable, all powerful and that oppression of the Jews would have last forever.

But how near they were to destruction. And, having traveled in other countries, I know that outside America today there is a great invincible force of resistance building up against American imperialism, against American injustice, against American crimes against humanity. And the time is coming when America too, America too, will reach the stage that Hitler's Germany reached.

When I say that this is an honorable time, the most honorable time that we can have is a time like this. Now our numbers are small; we constitute a minority. This is the time of courage, this is the greatest time. This is the time when the patriot is at his highest; this is the time of great honor. And this is why I say, no matter what the consequence may be, I am happy to have the opportunity to join with you tonight. I am happy to have the opportunity to come among our brothers the Panthers.

Many people have tried to bring division among us. We have been divided into groups. We have been divided into all kinds of nationalists: cultural nationalists, revolutionary nationalists, Marxist-Leninist nationalists, Blacks and Whites, and all kinds of things. But the thing that is most important now is unity, because through unity we can find strength, and through strength we can have power, and with power we can do anything. And I have seen many things done just through unity by people throughout the world.

And I want to say tonight that I didn't come here to make a speech, and I didn't expect to be recognized, but I came here to show my support for the Panthers and for the decent people of America, no matter what organization they may belong to, no matter what race they may belong to. But I know that we have a common struggle. And I'm happy to come and to identify with the honorable people in America tonight.

And I like to say in closing that I look forward to working with the decent people in America, no matter who they may be. And I would like to say once again, I'd like to express my solidarity with the Black Panther Party and the brothers who are suffering from such repression. Because I know that this is an old thing, this is nothing new to us. This is not new to the Black people in America. Our people have been lynched, have been murdered, and have been raped, dehumanized for centuries. Our people have been brought here in chains as slaves. Our people have been murdered by the thousands. Lord Bertrand Russell has said that more Black people have been exterminated in America than Jews in Nazi Germany. And this is a long story.

And I say that I have known, too the repression, the type of repression that the Panthers are undergoing now. I've known it for quite awhile. And I say that this is a new era, and this is why I'm proud to return to this country and to find the new spirit that now exists among the Panthers. It is a spirit that we understood, a spirit that developed in North Carolina. It was a spirit of armed self-defense. (applause). And I'm happy to join my support, join my support with an organization that is carrying out an honorable spirit--a spirit of manhood and Americanism.

Thank You

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

italist. We're the first to admit out mistakes. We no longer say Panther Power because we don't believe the Panthers should have all the power. We are not for the dictatorship of the Panthers. We are not for the dictatorship of Black people. We are for the dictatorship of the people.

The difference between the people and the vanguard is very important. You got to understand that the Panther Party IS the vanguard.

If you are about going to the people you got to understand that the vanguard leads the people. After the social revolution, the vanguard party, through our educational programs--and that program is overwhelming--the people are educated to the point that they can run things themselves. That's what you call educating the people, organizing the people, arming the people and bringing them revolutionary political power. That means people's power. That means the people's revolution. And if you're not about being involved in a people's revolution then you got to do something. You got to support the people's revolution.

COMPLETE SATISFACTION

The Black Panther Party is the vanguard party. You better get on the Black Panther Party. If you can't get on, goddamit you better get behind. If you can't get behind goddamit, you better get behind somebody else so you'll at least be able to follow indirectly, motherfucker. We ain't asking you to go out and ask no pig to leave us alone. We know that the pig fucks with us cause they know we're doing something.

Cause a lot of dudes walk around and write articles about it. I know some revolutionary groups say these niggers are runnin around saying these things--the PL motherfuckers talking that bullshit, couldn't even find things to criticize. They was so far in the ground. What was they doing? Organizing groundhogs, educating groundhogs, arming groundhogs and teaching groundhogs revolutionary political power.

I say that we're the first group to come above ground where the people can follow you and see you. And if you make a mistake its better than not even being at all. When I made that mistake I made it for the people, and I correct it for the people. You don't hear there was a raid on PL's office last night. You ain't never heard that. When you hear of PL busted in New York, PL's leader in jail with no bars, Pl leader run out of the country. PL leader shot 18 times while he was running with his back turned and hands tied up, PL leader gets breakfast for children for 1800 people a week. You ever hear it? Ya never heard it. I want to hear it. If you do hear it, it'll be because of the Black Panther lead. I'm not putting all these things out and saying PL doesn't know 'em. But I'm saying that when people write something like this, a lot of people don't understand it. And I wanted to take the time to explain it.

There are some things that PL says that are valid. Don't misunderstand me. We don't get mad because in some way or another PL is trying to better the Black Panther Party by trying to criticize it. But I just want to let you know, ain't nothing all right and ain't nothing all wrong. We're not all right--though we trying to get that way. We make mistakes but we understand that we gonna make some more mistakes. And we gonna try and correct these mistakes and we gonna try and keep on moving.

So what do we say? Don't get the pigs offa us cause we can stand em. We jail Mickey White, we should let em murder Bobby Hutton, we should let em run Eldridge Cleaver out of the country. Why? Because you can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail the revolution. You can run a freedom fighter around the country but you can't run freedom fighting around the country. You can murder a liberator, but you can't murder liberation.

Kill a few and get a little satisfaction. Kill some more and you get some more satisfaction. Kill em all and you get complete satisfaction. We say All Power to the People--Black Power to Black People and Brown Power to Brown People, Red Power to Red People and Yellow Power to Yellow People. We say White Power to White People EVEN. And we say Panther Power to the vanguard Party and we say don't kill a few and don't kill some more. As a matter of fact we rather you didn't move until you see we ready to move, and when you see we ready to move you know we not dealing with a few, we not dealing with some more. You know that we we get ready to move we dealing from complete--that's what we're after--total, everything, everybody--complete satisfaction.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

FREE HUEY!
FREE BOBBY!
FREE ERIKA!
FREE LANDON AND RORY!
FREE BURSEY!
FREE THE NY 21!
FREE THE CONN. 14!
FREE THE L.A. 18!

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

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THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.



RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatum by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

October 1966

Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. **That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.** Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. **But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.**



Designed By Emory

SEIZE THE TIME

REVOLUTIONARY ALBUM NOW AVAILABLE

The revolutionary album called "Seize The Time" by Elaine Brown, that the Black Panther Party has promised to the people since October is now on sale.

Elaine, Deputy Minister of Information of the Southern California Chapter, whose songs you have heard live at our rallies and speaking engagements, has taped the feelings of the Black Panther Party and is inviting the people to enjoy and learn (the words to the songs are printed on the inside of the cover), and begin to have a deeper understanding of your Vanguard Party.

The album is being distributed to record shops and will be available soon. You can obtain the album now at:

Black Panther Party
National Distribution
Tel: 415-922-6322

Black Panther Party
National Headquarters
Tel: 415-845-0103

Southern California Chapter
Black Panther Party
Tel: 213-235-4127

In all societies, the way of life of the people, their culture, mores, customs, etc., evolve from the economic basis of that society. The United States is a capitalist society, the system of capitalism being one of exploitation of man by man, with by-products such as racism, religious chauvinism, sexual chauvinism, and unnatural divisions among the people. In other words, it's a dog-eat-dog society. But it's not a dog-eat-dog world.

Men are not innately greedy, nor are they innately uncooperative with each other. Therefore, it is our goal, it is the goal of the Black Panther Party, and must be the goal of all men, to create conditions in which men can start being human, can begin to cooperate with each other, can live with each other, in fact, in peace. Men cannot do this without an arena in which to do so. In other words, in an exploitative system men are forced to exploit. In an unkind system, men are forced to be unkind. In a world of inhumanity, men will be inhuman. In a society that is warmongering, men will war. These are the aspects or the way of life of a people who are part of a capitalist system.

And songs are a part of the culture of society. Art, in general, is that. Songs, like all art forms, are an expression of the feelings and thoughts, the desires and hopes, and so forth, of a people. They are no more than that. A song cannot change a situation, because a song does not live and breathe. People do.

And so the songs in this album are a statement — by, of, and for the people. All the people. A statement to say that we, the masses of people have had a game run on us; a game that made us think that it was necessary for our survival to grab from each other, to take what we wanted as individuals from any other individuals or groups, or to exploit each other. And so, the statement is that some of us have understood that it is absolutely essential for our survival to do just the opposite. And that, in fact, we have always had the power to do it. The power to determine our destinies as human beings and not allow them to be determined by the few men who now determine them. That we were always human and always had this power. But that we never recognized that, for we were deluged, bombarded, mesmerized by the trinkets of the ruling class. And this means all of us: Black, Mexican, White, Indian, Oriental, Gypsy, all who are members of the working class, of the non-working class (that is, those who don't have jobs), all who are oppressed.

This means all of us have this power. But the power only belongs to all of us, not just some or one, but all. And that was the trick. That was the thing we never understood. And that is what statement these songs make.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.
SEIZE THE TIME.

Elaine Brown

Elaine Brown
Deputy Minister of Information
Southern California Chapter
Black Panther Party

DIG

By Eldridge Cleaver



From "Revolution and Education"

"...the process of breaking out of slavery, the process of breaking out of a set of social arrangements, of a social organization that is killing us, this process is named revolution;...revolution is a glorious term, it's a term to be proud of, and we should know that we are morally right, we are right in every sense of the term, that the oppressor is the one who is wrong; and that the oppressor has no rights, which the oppressed are bound to respect..."

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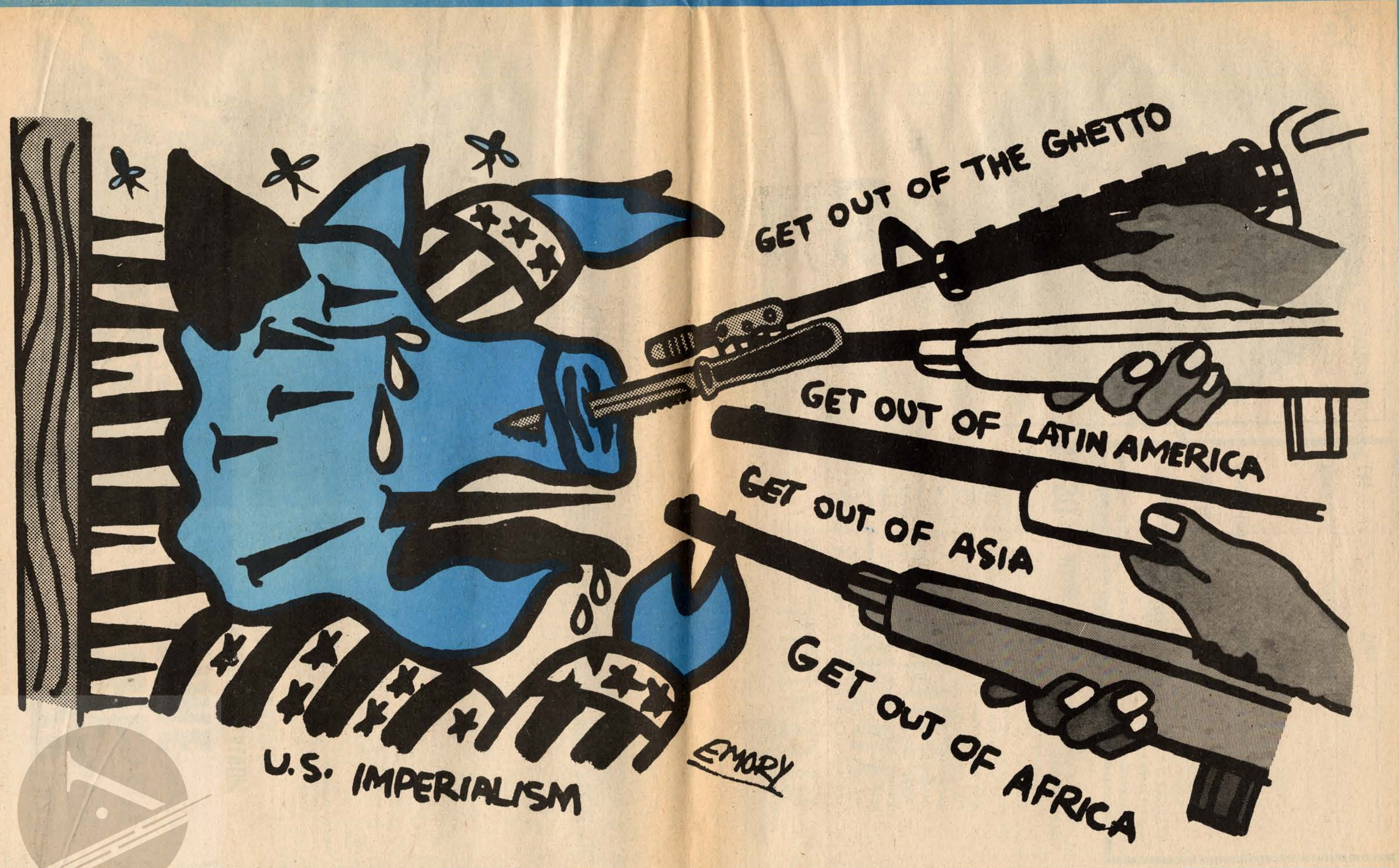
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